

IN THESE TIMES

Roy Medvedev:
China and the USSR

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Poverty's

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**No net
for the needy**

**No haven
in New Haven**

**Down and out
in Manhattan**

Photograph by Mel Rosenthal

THE INSIDE STORY



Photographer unknown

Marie-France Garaud is the Joan of Arc of strident anti-Sovietism.

France's nouvelle Cold War advocate

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

All by herself, a brave woman announced that she was running for president of France. That was more than two years ago, when the minor candidates were lining up for the first round of the May 1981 elections in which Francois Mitterrand defeated incumbent president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

Unlike the others, this brave woman had no party behind her. But she had a mission: to alert France to the threatening military expansionism of Soviet totalitarianism.

Most people here had never heard of Marie-France Garaud. But this was soon remedied by the media, which from the start treated her with uncommon deference. Television turned her candidacy announcement into an important event, and for the first time the public learned that Garaud, a well-groomed woman in her late 40s, had been the most trusted assistant and counselor of late President George Pompidou a decade before. There were hints that this successful career woman of middle-class origins was a sort of gray eminence, a power behind the presidential throne, who emerged from the shadows only to help save the *patrie* from dire peril.

With no party and no visible backing, Garaud got 1.33 percent of the vote in the 1981 presidential elections—a lot in a country with such rigid voting patterns. Her campaign, directed mainly at Giscard for allegedly being too soft on Moscow, served as a signal to the most anti-Soviet voters that they would do better to choose Mitterrand. Her score in the first round served to remind Mitterrand that he may have owed his victory in part to the current of opinion she represented.

This year Garaud has made a second appearance as a public figure—still heroically “alone,” still resolutely non-partisan, but now at the head of her own *Institut International de Geopolitique* (IIG). It's an obviously well-heeled lobby devoted to convincing public opinion

and President Mitterrand of the need to counter “Soviet military superiority,” notably by deployment of nuclear weapons.

Again, the media is treating her with amazing reverence. In TV interviews, journalists who normally never let a woman finish a sentence listen attentively as she weighs her words. Magazines identify her husband and two sons but not the donors who she says have lent her the luxury apartment serving as IIG headquarters on the Quai Anatole France overlooking the Seine, just a couple of blocks from the Defense Ministry.

Whoever they are, they're getting their money's worth. As Joan of Arc of the *force de frappe*, Garaud has been turning in a top performance. It was definitely a stroke of public relations genius to pick a smart woman in a man's world to champion the nuclear arms race. She knows how to turn her femininity to advantage in surprising ways, such as when, in her presidential campaign, she suggested it would make nuclear deterrence even more effective to have a woman's finger on the doomsday button because there is something irrational about the “all or nothing” threat that corresponds to female psychology.

Her sober, direct manner contrasts favorably with the condescending and hypocritical airs of most of the male stars of French politics. Her tone has enabled her to inject a semblance of originality and credibility into old Cold War arguments long thought to have died with John Foster Dulles. Once Garaud says things like, “Better red than dead is a meaningless slogan because Communist totalitarianism is the same thing as death” and gets away with it, others are sure to follow.

But there is only one potential follower that really interests her, and that is the king—or rather, the president. It comes to the same thing in the Fifth Republic designed by General de Gaulle. Garaud, who knows it from the inside, calls it a “monarchy with a time limit.” *New York Times* columnist Flora Lewis recently called the French president “the world's most powerful elected leader, virtually unconstrained by the parliament and other authority, in direct communion with the public.”

In an hour-long prime time TV interview on April 14, Garaud dismissed political parties as insignificant relics of the past, useful only for helping elect a president once every seven years. The rest of the time, all that counts is the president—who “in this country can do anything he wants”—and “public opinion.” She has set out to influence both.

Her two-pronged attack is well-coordinated. In her April television appearance, she told Mitterrand he needed to communicate with the public and then showed him how to do it.

Blood, sweat and fears.

Her message was this: his economic austerity policy is technically all right, but he's not selling it to the public. People will respond to appeals for “blood, sweat and tears” if their children's freedom is at stake, but not to improve the balance of trade. The French are grumbling at the economic sacrifices required of them. But a mobilizing theme is at hand: the deadly menace to France's freedom from the East. Her implicit hint to the president: the anti-Soviet crusade is how he can strengthen his authority while getting people to tighten their belts. This hint could come in handy if protests mount and France begins to look ungovernable.

The mobilizing threat to freedom is not being pointed out, she said, but it does exist. “I think the president senses that danger: the vulnerability of democracies to the expansionist drive of totalitarianism,” she said.

Garaud does not need to go on television to get a message to the president. According to her, she's seen Mitterrand twice at the Elysee, first to deplore the Jaruzelski coup in Poland and then to unveil her new Institute. Yet on television she gives a demonstration of what can be said. For instance, she said that there are not two power blocs but one—the Soviet bloc, “a bloc of death like a cancer in a living body.”

Oddly enough, the French press that was so quick to see a plot against President Richard Nixon behind the Watergate scandal does not see nor look for anything behind Garaud. Of the three journalists questioning her on the April show, only Giscardian Alain Duhamel suggested timidly that she might be “simply the talented spokeswoman for a powerful anti-Soviet pressure group in France.” Then he quickly dropped the subject.

The other two, Jacques Julliard of *Le Nouvel Observateur* and Jacques Amalric of *Le Monde*—both considered pro-Mitterrand—were falling all over themselves to show that they were just as anti-Soviet as she was. They, as well as the next day's newspapers, seemed most interested in whether or not Garaud approved of Mitterrand's economic policies—as if her stamp of approval were somehow decisive. There was no analysis of her strategy nor even any report of her more newsworthy statements like the following: there can be no European policy without raising the problem of Germany's “non-classic” armament—that is, of Germany's nuclear armament.

Garaud went on to recall that she had washed her hands of Giscard when she heard him say that Germany could never have nuclear arms of its own because the Soviet Union would consider it a *casus belli*. To let Moscow decide what weapons a free Western country could have, she said indignantly, was the “first step in Finlandization.”

This astounding trial balloon was allowed to float off unhindered by a single peep from the French press. None of the journalists asked what it meant to call into question the post-war consensus on preventing the nuclear armament of Germany.

Stressing her nonpartisanship, Garaud had only one criticism of Mitterrand: he was wrong to keep Communists in the government. This was inconsistent with his foreign policy, which on the whole she approved of. But she said Mitterrand was mistaken in thinking he could weaken the Communist Party by treating it “as a political party like any other.” Thus, he was committing a “sin of pride,” she said.

As Joan of Arc exhorted the Dauphin to crown himself king and lead a crusade against the British invaders, Garaud is exhorting Mitterrand to assume the monarchic powers of his office and lead a crusade against Communist totalitarianism. She seems to feel that the lonely power of the presidential office is on her side. “One doesn't govern innocently,” she said.

Enter General Gallois.

If Garaud is the “talented spokeswoman” for an anti-Soviet group, one of the most authoritative people she speaks for may be General Pierre Gallois. Theoretician of the Gaullist nuclear *force de frappe*, he is also author of two key articles in the first issue of the IIG's slick and fancy quarterly *Geopolitique*. One argues for the “necessity” of deploying the American Pershing 2 and Cruise nuclear Euromissiles in NATO countries this year. The other warns that the Americans are going to withdraw their protection from Europe.

Geopolitique stigmatizes the European peace move-

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Markey on the House freeze resolution

By Susan Jaffe

WASHINGTON

AFTER MORE THAN 50 HOURS of debate over the course of six weeks, the House of Representatives finally passed a freeze resolution on May 4 that was co-sponsored by 202 members. Although it is non-binding, it calls for the U.S. and Soviet Union to negotiate an "immediate, mutual and verifiable freeze and reductions in nuclear weapons." The resolution passed 278-149, but opponents like James Martin (R-N.C.) later boasted, "We took the teeth out of the tiger." Several amendments were added to the original text, including a provision introduced by Rep. Elliott Levitas (D-Ga.) to revoke the freeze if subsequent reductions in nuclear weapons did not occur within a set period of time.

On May 9, reporter Susan Jaffe talked with Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.)—who, along with Rep. Silvio Conte (R-Mass.) introduced the resolution—about whether the resolution changed during the debate and what impact, if any, the freeze resolution could have.

Has the freeze resolution changed at all? It's been amended in a few places and is now twice as long as the original.

It hasn't changed. During the course of the debate, many people were charging the freeze movement with being unilateralists and that the resolution was unilateral. No matter how many times we told them that it was mutual, they didn't believe us. So we put the words "not unilateral" in amendments four times, in addition to the word "mutual."

From the beginning, we argued that you could build [weapons] on both sides until the freeze was signed and ratified by both countries. They [opponents] for some reason were under the impression that we would stop [weapons production] once the freeze resolution was passed in the House and the Senate and signed by President Reagan. So we put in several more times that you can continue to build until a treaty is signed and ratified.

We had several more debates over whether or not you can modernize—that is, build new weapons—once the freeze is signed and ratified. We contended that you couldn't. They contended that you could.

So we had to delete or defeat their amendments, and we defeated them by adding amendments to their amendments that said you cannot build new nuclear weapons systems but you can maintain existing weapons systems. Those amendments don't change the content of the original language drafted a year and a half ago. It just makes more explicit what was implicit in the original draft, and no one in the freeze campaign is disturbed by any of the new language whatsoever.

The only amendment that is even in the category of a minor victory [for opponents] is the Levitas amendment. What that says is after the freeze goes into place, the negotiators should decide within a "reasonable specified period of time" to negotiate reductions [in nuclear weapons]. Although we would prefer not to have it in there, it still retains intact the sequencing—which is to freeze now, and then reductions. It doesn't touch or refer back to the freeze portion of the resolution.

At the beginning we were going to accept the Levitas amendment, and I'm not sure that [Sen. Edward] Kennedy and [Sen. Mark] Hatfield are going to delete it from the resolution [when it comes before the Senate]. They're going to leave it in, I think.

It doesn't do any serious harm to the resolution. It doesn't go to the guts of it,

which is the sequencing—freeze and then reduce—and whether you can build after the freeze is actually signed and ratified. Those are the two main issues that we won, and we won for 50 hours over and over.

Yet the media has a hard time focusing on the broad picture. Over a six-week period of time, we won and won and won. They [the opponents] then on the last day get a minor amendment, and the press interprets that as a victory.

But [Rep. Jack] Kemp [R-N.Y.], [Rep. Robert] Michel [R-Ill.] or [Rep. William] Broomfield [D-Mich.] didn't vote for it because they couldn't—it was still a freeze in 99 percent form.

So you disagree with James Martin, who claimed freeze opponents "took the teeth out of the tiger"?

Yes. Right from the beginning, there were 30 or 40 moderate conservative Republicans who didn't want to vote for the Broomfield substitute [the Reagan administration's "freeze later" resolution]. They were looking for a way of not getting caught in that bind again. Since we had defeated them consecutively for 50 hours on all the major amendments, they were growing desperate in the final hours.

So when the [Levitas] amendment was adopted, the Republicans decided—those who wanted to bail out—that they would call it a victory [for themselves]. Michel got up and called it a victory even though he couldn't vote for it because it was the freeze, in its purest form—freeze now and then reduce. But it would give them [the Republicans] the cover to get out from underneath, so they wouldn't have to go home to their constituents and say they voted against the freeze again.

From the first day, Tip O'Neill's whip count indicated that we were going to win by 100 votes. And that's what happened. On the final passage, they didn't want to have to vote against the freeze. But we weren't going to give them any excuse. They were going to have to vote it straight up or down, and they were forced to choose.

This way they have chosen, but they've decided to create a public relations smokescreen as a way of straddling the issue.

Assuming that the resolution may die in the Senate, what is the impact of the House action, practically speaking, even though it is non-binding? What message does it send?

I think the message is [in] those 30 Republicans who wanted desperately not to vote for the president's policy, and those are the 30 people who are most influenced by the debate. They are the key to having a real Reagan turn-about in his arms negotiations position, the real key in forcing him to secure some kind of treaty with the Soviet Union within the next year.

The political pressure that was applied was so intense, the education that members of Congress received was so thorough throughout this debate that it will be transferred into the internal, political decision-making process of the Republican Party in the next several months as the president will be told that these people do not want to face an election year without a nuclear arms treaty.

But in the interim, Congress is continuing to fund the production of Pershing 2 missiles. Isn't that a contradiction?

There is no contradiction. What we're trying to do is say...the antidote for both sides [U.S. and USSR] continuing to vote funds for nuclear weapons is for both sides to sit down [and negotiate]. That's what we tried to create as the alternative—a negotiated end to the arms race.

Will I vote for Pershing? No. Am I going to vote for the MX? No. But is the

ultimate goal just to have the U.S. dismantle our nuclear weapons unilaterally? No. Rather, it is to force our president and Soviet Premier Andropov to sit down and negotiate an end on both sides.

It's unrealistic to expect that we are going to allow the Soviet Union to continue to build and that we are going to stop. That's not going to happen. What we're trying to say to the president—and I think a lot of these moderate Republicans are now going to say it to him—is that you have to accept this other option: negotiate with the Russians and stop this thing because we're heading for Armageddon.

But doesn't production of the Pershing or MX really undermine the freeze?

If you look at the missile that will be given the first post-freeze inspection—the MX—I think you'll see the effect the freeze has had.

People shouldn't think the freeze is only symbolic or non-binding because the intent of it was to go far beyond that anyway, to create an atmosphere in which something like the upcoming MX de-

bate will benefit. That's what people should be looking at: how much different this debate on the MX will be from the one we had in May 1982.

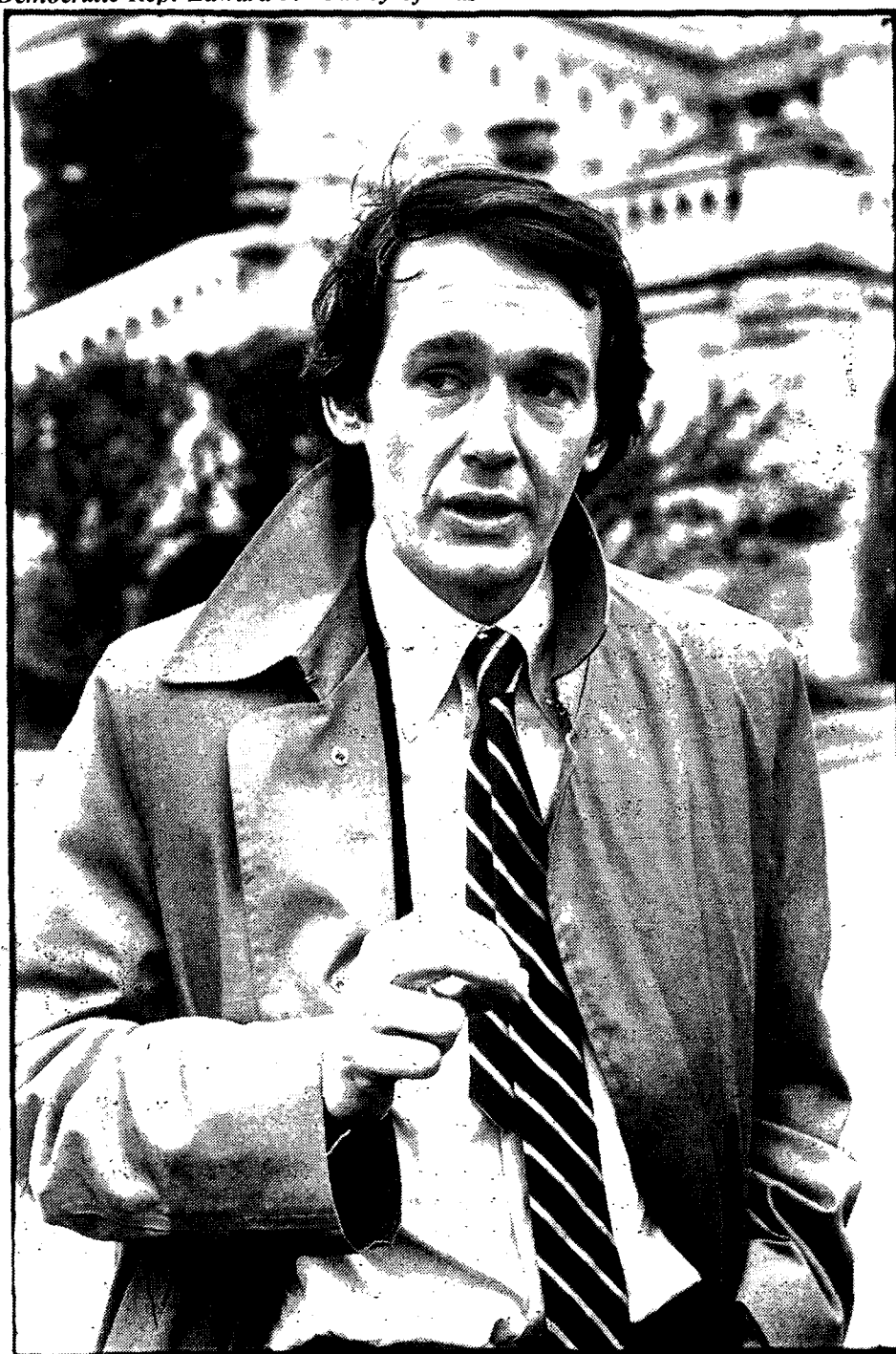
The single difference will be due to the education that members have gotten: six weeks on the floor discussing arms control. A year ago the freeze people would have accepted that as a victory, if you can shut down Congress and just debate arms control for six weeks. So we've gone much further than that—we've passed the freeze and now we move on to some of these other weapons systems.

I think there's a good chance the freeze will get a lot more support in the Senate than anybody believes. You can't argue that it's unilateral, you can't argue that it's ambiguous, because it's all spelled out now.

It's not the document that it was two months ago, but that's not necessarily bad.

Susan Jaffe covers nuclear issues for The Village Voice.

Democratic Rep. Edward J. Markey of Massachusetts



"The amendments that were added just make more explicit what was implicit in the original draft. No one in the freeze campaign is disturbed by any of the new language whatsoever."

IN SHORT

Dellums: "If Jesse runs..."

With Jesse Jackson the only black politician making formal appearances in presidential primary states, the debate over whether to run a black Democratic primary candidate will soon be narrowed to focus on the black candidate, which is looking more like Jackson every day. U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), who up to now has stayed out of American black leaders' official deliberations on a black candidacy, told *In These Times* he favors the idea and says, "If Jesse runs, we've got to support Jesse." Dellums followed that remark with the proviso that he'd like to see a black candidate come "from the progressive wing of the party." But when asked whether that meant he'd prefer someone else to Jackson, he balked. "I don't want to comment on personalities," he said. When pressed, Dellums said he considers Jackson's stands on most issues "better than the others" who have declared themselves Democratic contenders so far. And he believes the politically eclectic Operation PUSH director is moving left, especially on defense, disarmament and foreign policy issues. Dellums thinks the left should support a black candidate, if only to show that presidential politics is not the preserve of "white males over 40," he said. "I'm glad Jesse is pursuing the idea."

Dellums was in Chicago May 7 to speak at the Democratic Socialists of America's (DSA) annual Norman Thomas-Eugene Debs dinner, where 450 people turned out to honor Coalition of Labor Union Women leader Joyce Miller. Chicago Mayor Harold Washington was scheduled to speak along with Dellums, but his City Council stand-off kept him away. DSA leaders, conscious of the preponderance of white males in their ranks, were pleased just to have both Washington and Dellums agree to speak. "Two blacks honoring a woman labor leader," commented a National Executive Council member. "That must be a DSA first."

Driving a Tufts bargain

Tufts President Jean Mayer was showing no inclination to change his mind about granting tenure to sociology professor Peter Dreier (*In These Times*, April 27), so students decided to take matters into their own hands. On May 2, Alfie Kohn reports, a group of organizers led 200 fellow students into the administration building, where they staged a sit-in for two-and-a-half days, bringing university business to a virtual halt. Students presented Mayer with a 1,200-signature petition protesting the decision to deny Dreier tenure, and demanded greater student participation in tenure proceedings.

An elected team of negotiators met several times with Mayer during the two days. The administration never budged on the Dreier matter, but agreed to establish a student/faculty committee charged with reviewing the tenure process, and the 200 filed out of a building surrounded by riot-equipped police.

A better life in Brooklyn?

While President Reagan agonizes over Afghan rebels living under the Soviet heel, 42 Afghan refugees living in the U.S. aren't finding life much better in Brooklyn. Detained for visa problems at New York's Kennedy airport, they are being held at Brooklyn's Immigration Detention Center, a prison-like institution without normal prison amenities such as libraries, classrooms or outdoor exercise areas. Some have been there more than a year, Benno Groeneveld reports. The 42 are seeking political asylum here, but federal officials maintain that because they lived temporarily in India and Pakistan they can return there. But neither country will have them.

Afghans have it much easier than many refugees, however. Since the 1979 Soviet invasion, more than 10,000 Afghan refugees have been allowed into the U.S. The *Washington Post* reports that of 469 Afghan applicants for political asylum in 1982, 303—65 percent—were accepted. That compares with 3 percent from Pakistan and none from Chile.

Check your conscience

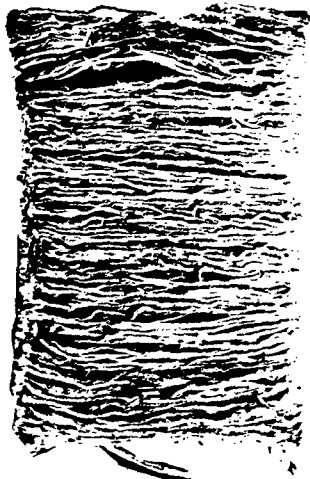
Since his forced retirement in January 1981, former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White has persistently painted over the Reagan administration's attempts to whitewash the brutal Salvadoran government, divulging evidence of military complicity in the December 1980 murders of four U.S. churchwomen there, for example. Most recently, Dave Davis and Tim Peek report, White told a Colorado audience that Reagan's latest El Salvador initiative—he sought \$60 million and won \$30 million in additional military aid—is "no policy at all. It can be summed up in a few words—guns, guns and more guns." At the root of the administration's Central American adventurism, he said, was its refusal "to recognize the existence of indigenous revolutions."

But has the revolution gotten more "indigenous" since outgoing Ambassador White, citing Nicaraguan assistance to the Salvadoran rebels, lifted a brief ban on U.S. military aid to the government? Probably not. Ambassadors tend to have to check their conscience at the embassy door, but it's to the anti-intervention movement's advantage that White was able to retrieve it when he left.

—Joan Walsh



In a political emergency, let the poor eat wheat



WASHINGTON—One of the last significant pieces of legislation passed in the dying days of the Carter administration was a bill setting up the Wheat Food Security Reserve—four million tons of wheat bought by the federal government and set aside to be used only in case of a worldwide famine. The wheat was to be considered sacrosanct. Immune from market and political pressures, it was to be distributed only if other grain surpluses and international food aid programs were wiped out by a global food crisis.

Now, just three years later, the reserve's very existence is threatened. Several bills making their way through Congress would use the set-aside wheat to deal with pressing political problems. That politics should interfere with the reserve's original promise comes as no surprise. The reserve itself won passage only because the Carter administration was trying to pay a political debt to American farmers in a presidential election year.

After Carter declared a grain embargo in the wake of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, the reserve was a way to ease farmers' anger over the lost Soviet market, and a humanitarian move to boot.

Currently, politics with a humanitarian veneer threatens the

reserve. The key proposals are a pair of bills—one backed by conservative Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and the other by liberal Rep. Leon Panetta (D-Calif.)—designed to use 300,000 tons of the reserve to hand out flour to needy Americans.

Dole's proposal was tacked on to the jobs bill Congress passed in March, but the amendment only authorized the program for six months, barely time for the government to complete the necessary paperwork. So now Dole is back again, seeking an extension. His bill breezed through the Senate Agricultural Committee and is now awaiting floor action. Panetta's will be marked up in committee May 5.

Designed to get food to thousands of needy people who have not yet seen the reported economic recovery trickle down, the bills are supported by a variety of farmers and poor people's advocacy groups. But they have their critics. Bread for the World, the anti-hunger group that was largely responsible for getting the reserve created, thinks the move is just a band-aid to hide the damage inflicted by congressional food stamp cuts.

"The government is embarrassed with having food surplus-

es when there are hungry people at home," says Tim Yeane, one of Bread for the World's congressional lobbyists. "It's a quick political solution."

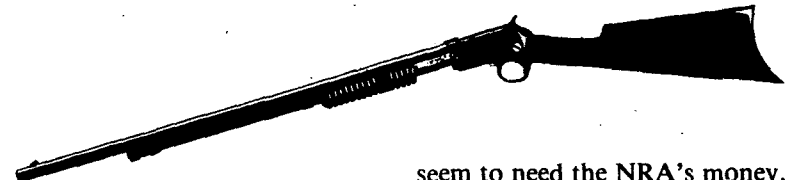
The emergency food distribution bills are limited and create no network for distributing the food, Yeane notes. "The goal isn't to feed hungry people—it's to avoid embarrassment for the government."

The programs do seem to have been thrown together hastily. No one on the congressional committees pushing the bills or in the Department of Agriculture seems to have a firm grip on how much the program will cost or how many people it will reach. Both bills have provisions requiring the reserve to be replenished by 1984.

Rob Fersch, staff director of Panetta's House subcommittee on domestic marketing, acknowledges that food stamps are a better way to feed the poor. "Representative Panetta fought against food stamp cuts. But that's not the choice anymore."

An aide to Dole defended the senator's role in helping reduce the food stamp program. "There is little hard evidence these budget cuts have done a lot of harm," insists Christina Bolton. "Senator Dole held a hearing recently with a lot of people who have done economic research in to that issue, and the one thing they did not pin the hunger problem on is budget cuts."

—Harvy Lipman



Voters back handgun ban

MORTON GROVE, ILL.—Politicians court National Rifle Association (NRA) backing because of the campaign dollars and votes the gun lobby can deliver. But in the small Chicago suburb of Morton Grove, elected officials don't

seem to need the NRA's money. Last month Morton Grove voters re-elected the village board members who in 1981 passed the landmark ordinance banning the sale and possession of handguns.

In a record turnout for an off-year election, 60 percent of the village's registered voters went to the polls to reaffirm their support for the ordinance banning the handguns that had killed nine people in Morton Grove in the

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last 10 years.

The election was little more than a referendum on the handgun ban. After two courts ruled that the ban was constitutional and could only be reversed by the voters, not the courts, opponents organized the "We the People" party, declaring their disapproval of the "dictatorial and outrageous conduct of the present administration in this whole area of gun control." Said Joan Deckart, an anti-ban trustee not up for re-election: "If the 'We the People' party comes out opposing gun control and wins, that is as good as a referendum in Morton Grove."

On election day, however, ev-

ery member of the party was defeated. One of the losers, Seymour Primer, blamed the media for making the race a one-issue campaign.

But the battle isn't over, says Mayor Richard Flickinger, pointing out that the NRA has said it will appeal to the Supreme Court. Since the ordinance went into effect in February 1982, three people have been arrested, convicted and fined the minimum \$50. Morton Grove officials have sent copies of the ordinance to 517 towns and cities around the country, but only Evanston, Ill., has passed similar legislation.

—Michael Brennan

Briefing: Up from slavery in N.C.

DURHAM, N.C.—The motto "First in freedom" can still be found on many old North Carolina license plates. But agricultural growers' opposition to a proposed state law outlawing involuntary servitude has provoked farmworkers and their supporters to coin a slogan of their own: "Last in freedom, first in slavery."

The controversial statute, House Bill 684, is the result of years of lobbying by farmworker advocacy groups. The bill would make it a felony to "knowingly and willfully" "kidnap," "entice" or "hold any person in involuntary servitude." The proposed statute would also make it a crime to employ a person with the knowledge that the employee is holding people in involuntary servitude, a measure designed to crack down on "crewleaders," the middlemen who import migrant workers to North Carolina. The penalties for violating the act are substantial, ranging from \$100,000 to \$1 million for corporations, and up to five years in prison in addition to a fine for personal criminal liability.

"I thought that we abolished slavery in 1865," said the bill's sponsor, Democratic Rep. Malcolm Fucher. Prior to introducing the legislation, Fulcher admitted that he was "a little bit embarrassed at having to introduce such a bill." He added, "Who, after all, in the 20th century, would tolerate slavery?"

There have been 10 federal convictions for enslaving farmworkers in North Carolina during the past three years. In January 1982, three labor contractors, known as crewleaders, were convicted in federal district court in Raleigh on charges of conspiracy to hold workers in involuntary servitude. The incident resulted in the death of a farmworker who was sick and in need of medical attention yet was forced to work in the hot sun.

More recently, on April 14, 1983, four people were indicted by a federal court in Tampa, Fla., on charges of enticing farmworkers into slavery and

conspiring to hold workers in involuntary servitude. The indictments cover activity in North Carolina as well as in Florida.

The state's migrant labor system encourages such violations. Every year approximately 35,000 migrant farmworkers—mostly blacks, Hispanics and Haitians—travel up from Florida to North Carolina to crop tobacco and pick cucumbers, bell peppers and sweet potatoes.

When a grower needs workers, he files a work order with the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, claiming that there are not enough local workers available. The ESC, in turn, issues a clearance order to crewleaders in Florida, who then round up workers. Crewleaders, not growers, are then responsible for paying and housing the workers.

In 1981, the state National Lawyers Guild chapter published a report on crewleader violence against farmworkers in North Carolina. According to the report, some crewleaders recruit the unemployed off the streets, luring them with alcohol and promises of work. The next thing a recruit knows, he wakes up in North Carolina and learns he must pay back the money the crewleader "fronted" to him for the ride up before he can think of leaving.

Testimony presented at various public hearings by health and legal services outreach workers reveals the same conditions. The farmworkers are physically restrained from leaving migrant camps. Dogs patrol the camps at night, preventing the workers from escaping. Food, frequently consisting of a spoonful of grits, a bologna sandwich on white bread and chicken necks or fat back with beans and rice, is sold for an average of \$45 per week. Alcohol and cigarettes are resold in the camps illegally at exorbitant prices.

Farmworkers in North Carolina are not covered by any protective legislation, and are specifically excluded from workers' compensation, unemployment insurance, state minimum wage laws and child

labor laws. Water for drinking and washing and toilets in the fields are not required. And competition between the migrants and North Carolina's own seasonal farmworkers has prevented effective political action.

Currently, the U.S. Department of Justice is the only agency able to investigate slavery complaints in North Carolina and determine whether the evidence warrants federal indictments. The proposed anti-slavery statute would enable the State Bureau of Investigation to look into these complaints and would allow state courts to hear such cases.

The report presented by the North Carolina Legislative Study Commission on Migrant Farmworkers found enforcing state law would be easier and faster than relying on federal law. Although the Justice Department receives many complaints, most do not result in



indictments due to insufficient evidence. Often farmworkers who are witnesses disappear into the migrant stream, in fear for their jobs and lives if they testify.

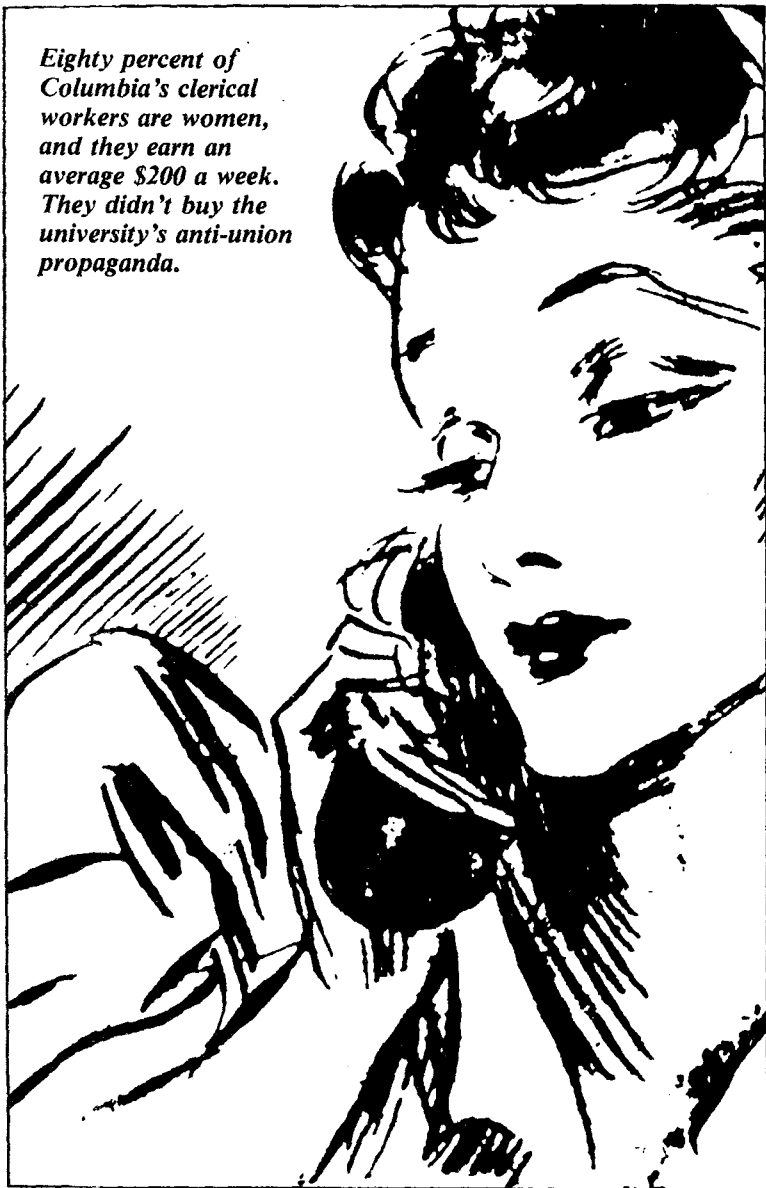
But there is powerful opposition to the bill. Robert Broughton, general counsel for the private North Carolina Farm Bureau Federation, representing the state's agricultural growers, believes there is no need for the legislation. "We don't see the problem," Broughton stated. "The federal statutes are fairly comprehensive. ...The Bureau's main objection is the bill's broad definition of involuntary servitude which may be subject to abuse."

W.B. Jenkins, also with the Farm Bureau, adds that the proposed anti-slavery statute is "an insult to every farmer in the state. It implies that there is slavery in North Carolina."

—L.A. Winokur and Alex Charns



Eighty percent of Columbia's clerical workers are women, and they earn an average \$200 a week. They didn't buy the university's anti-union propaganda.



Union wins at Columbia

NEW YORK—Columbia University clerical workers, overcoming a strong anti-union campaign by the university administration in a close election, voted May 4 to join District 65 of the United Auto Workers union (UAW).

The union election, the first at Columbia since 1976, was delayed three years because management wanted supervisors to vote on representation. The local National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) initially agreed, but District 65 refused to go along, and the NLRB reversed its decision on April 7, making way for the election.

Clerical salaries at Columbia average \$200 a week, barely a living wage in New York. Most of Columbia's clerical workers are under 35, and 80 percent of them are women. One-third leave their jobs every year.

Job classifications, or the lack of them, have made for troubled labor relations there. Many people work to get tuition remissions

and take courses requiring a flexibility from which the university benefits most. In the absence of specific job descriptions, salaries vary greatly among the many departments and semi-autonomous programs. "There are people here who don't know what they're supposed to be doing," says Lee Fleming, a former Columbia worker now with District 65.

Even after the NLRB decision, the university fought the union drive. Fleming says workers were bombarded with anti-union propaganda, distorting how much of their salaries would go for union dues, the terms of the union's health plans and portraying District 65 as "strike-happy." The night before the election, campus security police handcuffed five union organizers—off campus—who were putting up posters. City police ordered their release.

The next day's vote was close—468 to join the union, 442 against, and 97 votes that Columbia is disputing before the NLRB. Yet union organizers say they have no doubt of their victory and are looking forward to similar efforts at Yale, Cornell and Harvard.

—Myles Gordon

By Daniel Lazare

NEW YORK

WHEN JUDITH LEVINE talks, she sometimes sounds like a garment worker complaining bitterly about low wages or a factory hand sounding off about some particularly arrogant foreman. Instead, she is a freelance writer railing against magazine editors and the unseen, but all-powerful, publishers behind them.

"I was considered a relatively successful freelancer because I was grossing \$12,000 a year," she said. "I became a freelancer because I thought I would have some integrity. But after several years I discovered that I neither had any integrity nor was I making a living. I was being evicted from my apartment and having my phone turned off. I owed \$750 to my dentist, \$750 to my shrink, \$1,500 to friends and probably \$1,000 to my parents. Even the most efficient writers usually end up getting paid less than \$5 an hour for working on a piece. You don't get paid for rewrites and editorial time, and you don't get paid for sitting around waiting for your editors while they do something else."

"You may have to wait anywhere from three months to a year to be paid," Levine continued. "In order to do a piece for the *Village Voice*—a piece that may take me a month and that I'll get paid \$400 for—I've got to work part-time as a copy editor to pay for it. Rupert Murdoch [publisher of the *Voice*] is making a fortune and I'm paying for it."

Solidarity forever.

Writers have been complaining about such abuses since the rise of the commercial press in the 17th century, but for perhaps the first time ever in the U.S., they are now banding together to do something about it. On April 30 and May 1, about 40 freelance journalists, playwrights, novelists and poets got together in a cinderblock classroom in the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute to draft a constitution for an infant labor organization known as the National Writers Union. Like good professionals, the delegates were terse and to the point, and the document was finished on schedule. Then, after a chorus of



Steve Kogan

IN THE NATION

WRITERS

Obstacles do not daunt new union

the U.S. There were attempts in the '30s, but, as far as I know, they never got off the ground." In Western Europe, where labor laws are far less restrictive, freelancers are frequently covered by newspaper unions, such as the National Union of Journalists in Britain. In the U.S., similar groups of workers such as playwrights, screenwriters and graphic artists—all of whom sell their work on the open market rather than working directly for employers—are covered by unions or quasi-unions, like the Dramatists Guild and the newly organized Graphic Artists Guild.

The union currently has 1,500 dues-paying members and has won its first contract, a recent two-year agreement with *Mother Jones* setting minimum rates for contributors (\$1,000 for a first assignment, \$1,200 for a second and \$1,500 for a third) and establishing rules to cover such sensitive areas as "kill fees" (set at 25 percent of the purchase price), rewrites and timetables for informing writers that their work has been accepted, paying them and publishing their work.

Horror stories.

These are reforms of vital importance to freelancers, each of whom has a horror story to tell about articles that undergo endless rewrites only to disappear forever into the black hole of some editor's desk drawer. "There isn't a writer—I don't care how big—who hasn't had these kinds of experiences," said Eagan. "One of the things I've discovered is that the bigger you are and the more you're earning, the more ways publishers find to do horrible things to you."

"The next year is obviously very crucial for us," she added. "We've got to win as many contracts as we possibly can, covering books, magazines and paperback publishers. Within two years, we will probably have 5,000 members and numerous enforceable contracts." Although they divulge no names, organizers say their next target may be a glossy magazine or trade publication, and the union by no means wants to confine itself to the left-liberal publications like *Mother Jones*. In five years, she hopes, the union will be so well-established "that everyone will take us for granted."

For the moment, though, the balance of power is still overwhelming against the union. Writers still peck away at their typewriters in isolation and editors still treat them with impunity. Nonetheless, there was a touch of excitement in the air at the National Writers Union's constitutional convention. It was the heady sense of a political and economic movement that has put down roots and is growing.

The idea for a national writers union first arose at a meeting in a New York apartment in February 1981, which had been called to discuss plans for the American Writers Congress, held in October of that year under the auspices of *The Nation* magazine.

"There was tremendous enthusiasm in the room," Eagan recalled. "But every week, somebody new would come around and say it couldn't be done—it was illegal, writers were too individualistic, etc." When the congress was held, there was reluctance to put the idea of a union up for a vote for fear it would be defeated. Instead, it passed by an unofficial tally of 2,000 to four.

If progress has been fairly steady since, organizers owe a measure of thanks to the Reagan administration, the recession and more than a decade of inflation, which have caused working conditions to deteriorate alarmingly and spurred writers to act. Most magazines have increased their rates only slightly since the early '60s, meaning that compensation has been effectively cut by a half to two-thirds. Book advances have been growing smaller and smaller, and many publishing houses have been pushing much-resented "work-for-hire" contracts in which authors are asked to forego royalties in exchange for a slightly larger fee up front.

Little mercy for writers.

Such is the fate of any unorganized social group in an inflationary economy. Senior citizens, who constitute a powerful political lobby, have fought tenaciously against cuts in social security benefits, while labor unions were successful in keeping wage increases ahead of inflation (although at the cost of rising unemployment). Writers, though, remained weak and unorganized and, as a consequence, have been shown little mercy.

"Things have actually gotten worse in the last two or three years," said Peter Weissman, a 38-year-old newspaper and magazine writer turned novelist who is active in the New York local. "We had one writer offered a \$15,000 advance for a novel, but no royalties. He had been published maybe 20 times, but this had never happened to him. He was stunned to be offered a work-for-hire deal."

A 1981 study by the Authors Guild found that published book authors averaged \$4,500 a year from their writings, which is a far cry from the public's image of authors as prosperous, tweedy types who only emerge from their Martha's Vineyard retreats to negotiate awe-inspiring deals for paperback and movie rights to their latest best-sellers. "Somehow," Weissman said, "we have to let people

know that writers earn less than nearly anybody else—that they're actually below the poverty line."

The union's members are a diverse group. Poets seem to predominate in San Francisco. In New York, the book authors who are members tend to be in their 30s and 40s and mainly concerned with the bread-and-butter issues of contracts, copyrights, libel insurance and royalties, Weissman said. Magazine freelancers from New York are about 10 years younger on average and more overtly political. Delegates to the constitutional convention also came from the South, the Midwest and the Washington, D.C.-Maryland area.

The National Writers Union's frank labor orientation sets it apart from other, purely professional groups. "One of the things the union is trying to do is to prevent publishers from breaking the rights of all writers by using freelancers as scabs," said Jeff Weinstein, who writes a restaurant column for the *Village Voice*. Aid and encouragement have come from District 65 of the United Auto Workers, the Newspaper Guild, the Communications Workers, the Writers Guild (which represents screenwriters), the Graphic Artists Guild, the Service Employees International Union and even the National Football League Players Association. A constitutional clause setting minimum publication requirements for membership was kept loose enough so as not to exclude the great mass of poorly paid, struggling freelancers, yet sufficiently tight to establish the union as a serious labor organization.

Vexing problems.

Nonetheless, a number of vexing organizational problems remain. Newspaper unions, for instance, have long been leery of freelancers because they represent a source of labor for publishers that is cheaper, requires few fringe benefits and (until now) has not been known to strike. Freelancers may establish a long-standing relationship with a publication, but it is nonetheless more tenuous than that of a salaried, full-time employee. Freelancers may only know their editor as a voice on the telephone. And they may realize they have been "fired" only when their telephone calls are no longer returned.

The legal problems facing the union are also daunting. Groups like ASCAP (the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers), the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists and the Dramatists Guild have been recently challenged in the courts (successfully in the case of the first two) on the ground that their efforts to set prices and establish work-rules is monopolistic and amounts to restraint of trade. Labor is exempt from anti-trust regulations, but the distinction between a *bona fide* labor union and an association of small producers is vague and has more to do with politics than anything else. Pressure from below by labor and writers is crucial on this point, just as it was crucial in sweeping away anti-labor legislation in the '30s.

"This is a very big obstacle for us," said Levine. "But all unions were at one time illegal. The law changes with practice."

Added Eagan, "We're not going to do anything unless we're certain we can win. Publicity and bringing pressure to bear—these are some of the things we can do to win."



"The next year is crucial for us."

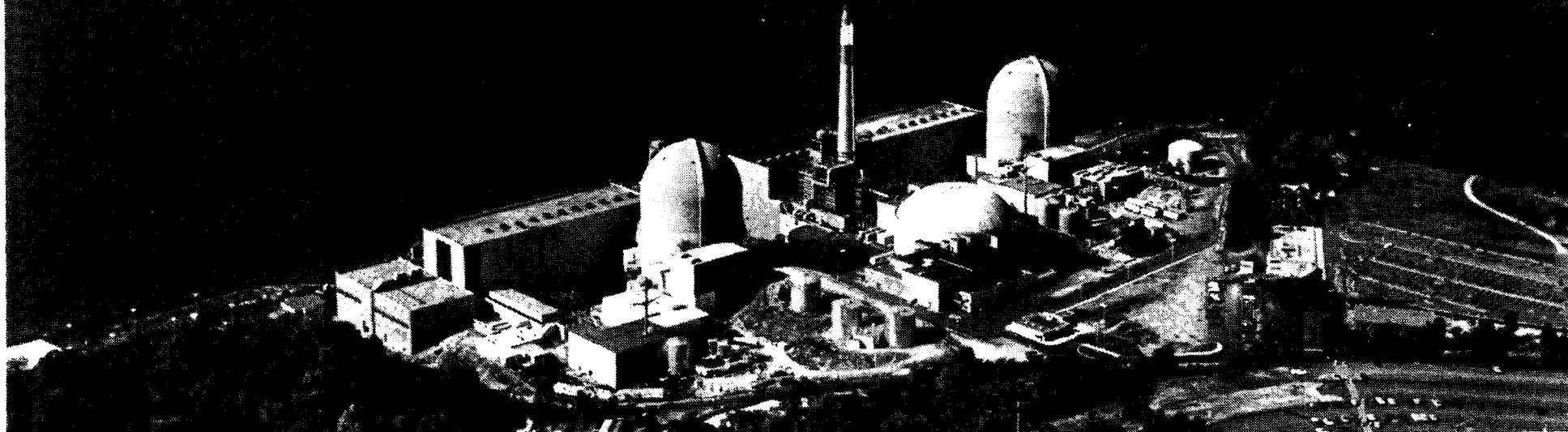
Steve Kogan

"Solidarity Forever," they got down to the business of electing officers.

Andrea Eagan, a 39-year-old writer for women's magazines who has also written a best-selling teenage advice book, was chosen president. John Dinges, who covers Central America on a freelance basis for the *Washington Post*, was elected organizing secretary, while Robert Reiser, a playwright from Westchester County, N.Y., was made treasurer. Levine, who writes frequently on feminist topics, was made an at-large member of the union's steering committee.

"What we did was something that has never been done before," Eagan said later. "We established a writers' union in

At Indian Point, will NRC enforce its own rules?



By Susan Jaffe

NEW YORK

BECAUSE AN ESTIMATED 144,000 people had to flee their homes during the 1979 nuclear accident at Three Mile Island, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) decided that every operating nuclear power plant in the U.S. must have emergency evacuation plans. The new regulation took effect in 1981, but currently 37 plants lack emergency plans for the 10-mile area around each site.

Two weeks ago, the NRC finally threatened to actually enforce its own rules, starting with the most blatant violation at the Indian Point reactors, located 26 miles north of New York City in the most densely populated area in the country.

If local officials and plant owners don't come up with adequate plans by June 9, the NRC claims it will close Indian Point. The action would mark the first time operating nuclear reactors were closed for violating the 1981 emergency plan rule. "If we didn't do it here, people wouldn't believe we would do it anywhere," NRC Commissioner John Ahearne told reporters.

The ruling could jeopardize the future of those nuclear plants without approved, workable plans, particularly Maine Yankee, where owners have four months to resolve plan "deficiencies" or face a possible shutdown. It also strengthens the position of Long Island, N.Y., officials who have flatly refused to submit an evacuation plan for the area around the nearly completed Shoreham nuclear power plant. When Deputy Suffolk County Executive Frank Jones heard the Indian Point ruling, he said, "Shoreham is dead."

So far the NRC has only threatened to take action at Indian Point. With this decision, the NRC appears more interested in restoring its own credibility than in fulfilling its legal responsibility to insure public health and safety.

The agency is passing that duty on to the plant operators it is supposed to be regulating. The NRC threat specifically states that Indian Point will be shut unless the utilities—which have no authority in off-site emergency planning—can prove by June 9 that the problems in the emergency plan "no longer exist," "are not significant," "other compelling reasons exist to permit operation of the facility" or "adequate compensating actions have been or will be taken." A special hearing will be held May 26 in Washington, where Indian Point's owners, Con Edison and New York Power

Authority, will try to persuade the five NRC commissioners that miracles are indeed possible, that the problems will disappear.

"The NRC is only providing the utilities an opportunity to beg and buy their way out of this," says Joan Holt, director of the Indian Point Project of the New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG).

The NRC decision came three weeks after the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) issued its evaluation of emergency preparedness at Indian Point. FEMA found several kinks in the plan, which is supposed to permit the orderly and speedy evacuation of 288,000 people in the event of a nuclear accident, and cited two particularly troublesome "deficiencies": there is no guarantee that Westchester County bus drivers would show up for work during a nuclear accident, and Rockland County, with 110,000 residents living within 10 miles of the plant, is still working on its emergency plan. At present, Rockland has no approved plan to deal with an accident.

As a result, FEMA regional director Frank Petrone summarized the FEMA report by saying, "I cannot assure that public health and safety can be protected in the 10-mile emergency planning zone around Indian Point."

While officials in Rockland and Westchester acknowledge that they can't solve these problems by June 9, the utilities are confident they can. "We intend to demonstrate to the NRC that these alleged problems are correctable and do not justify the drastic step of shutting down the plant," responded a Power Authority spokesperson to the NRC ruling.

But they are still not sure exactly how to go about it. "Are we ready to go into

the bus-driving business? The answer is no," said a spokesperson for Con Edison.

But both companies have agreed to pay for a \$200,000 transportation study for Westchester, and there are indications that bus drivers might cooperate if they were promised adequate radiation protection by the utilities.

In Rockland, however, the chairman of the county legislature is unequivocal: "To say we will have a plan ready by June 9 is an impossibility," says Herbert Reisman. (In April, Rockland County, 23 members of the New York City Council, the Union of Concerned Scientists, the New York Public Interest Research Group and nine state legislators filed a lawsuit in the U.S. Court of Appeals against the NRC to force it to close Indian Point until a Rockland plan is finalized.)

"The commission recognizes that to some extent these problems are beyond the power of the licensees to resolve," the NRC admitted in its order.

Emergency planning is also beyond the expertise of the NRC itself. "When we get something from FEMA, we generally accept it," testified William J. Dirks, the NRC's executive director of operations at an April 18 hearing on emergency planning conducted by the House interior subcommittee on oversight and investigation, which watches over the NRC. "We don't second-guess them on it.... We have no people set aside to do the work that FEMA has been designated to do."

NRC looks for excuses.

Subcommittee chair Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.) wonders how the NRC will evaluate the solutions offered by Indian Point's owners after it has ignored FEMA's report. "Obviously, the commis-

sion is looking for some new information from a source other than the federal agency in charge that will give them an excuse not to close the plants," Markey says.

One excuse the utilities are eager to provide is economic: without Indian Point, electric rates could jump \$9 billion over the next 15 years. But such "devastating economic consequences," as a Power Authority spokesperson put it, are disputed by a recent study from the Boston-based Energy Systems Research Group, that found the average increase would be only \$1 per year over 15 years. Even if the NRC doesn't close Indian Point, the reactors now operate at about half capacity because of frequent mechanical problems.

Although New York City Mayor Ed Koch told reporters he'd rather have higher electric bills than face the risk of a nuclear accident, New York Governor Mario Cuomo wants the federal government, not the consumers, to pay for a shutdown. Cuomo claims the state has no "legal responsibility" for Indian Point and the safety of nearby residents since it is a federally licensed facility. "The federal government has the authority and has the responsibility," he claims. Yet a FEMA official counters that the state does have the ultimate responsibility for emergency planning. "If there is going to be an evacuation, it is handled by the county or state," says FEMA's Richard Krimm.

Meanwhile, editorial writers at the *New York Times* worry that the NRC will "give local authorities a veto over reactors by refusing to approve or cooperate in evacuation plans." Apparently, local governments should accept nuclear plants as gifts from the federal government, no questions asked.

If the NRC enforced its own regulations, much of the confusion and growing distrust among federal agencies and local and state officials could be avoided. According to the NRC, plants without workable evacuation plans shouldn't be allowed to operate. The rule is just as important as the NRC's technical safety requirements for plant equipment and operating procedures. So at Indian Point the NRC can play by the rules or else hand over what little power it has to the utility companies.

"We hope that mere words on paper are not substituted for reality," says Joan Holt of NYPIRG, "and that the utilities aren't allowed to whitewash the whole situation."

Susan Jaffe covers nuclear issues for the *Village Voice*.

Across the U.S., 37
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Capital Cities Communications expected trouble from the union Fair Contract Committee, so police were called out in force at the shareholders' meeting in Buffalo.

LABOR

Protests reach stockholders

By Drew Mendelson

BUFFALO, N.Y.

ON MAY 5 THE DIRECTORS OF Capital Cities Communications, one of the nation's largest communications conglomerates, found themselves confronted at their annual shareholders meeting with an unprecedented shareholder demand for a report on the corporation's labor policy.

A resolution introduced by Arch Puddington, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, on behalf of members of the International Typographical Union (ITU) garnered 11.8 percent of the shareholders' votes cast. It was the largest percentage ever received on a shareholder proposal dealing with labor relations that was not supported by a corporate board of directors.

The resolution sought to have the corporation's directors report to their shareholders on company policy regarding wages, benefits, pensions, hiring, firing, discharge and cooperation with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The resolution also would have required the directors to explain fully their policy on the fulfillment of prior labor contracts.

ITU members and representatives of the Fair Contract Committee—a consortium of community leaders supporting the union's interests—journeyed to Buffalo to attend the Capital Cities shareholders meeting. They had gathered proxies for about \$1 million of the company's stock and intended to question the directors on corporation labor policy, relationships with other corporations, union-busting and the reasons why 100 negotiations sessions in Kansas City, Mo., had failed to produce a contract for 140 ITU members.

Capital Cities' directors were prepared for trouble at the meeting. Uniformed Buffalo city police, Pinkerton guards and plain-clothed security guards patrolled the halls and meeting room at WKBW-TV, where the meeting took place.

The directors expected trouble because of the company's history of poor relations with the ITU and the Newspaper Guild. Capital Cities' daily newspaper in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., took an anti-union stand in 1981 that resulted in a two-year strike that is still in progress. A union-operated strike newspaper that now com-

petes with Capital Cities' there has taken \$2 million a year from its profits.

Similar anti-union action in Pontiac, Mich., also resulted in a strike against the company's newspaper there. But Capital Cities—with its nine daily newspapers, including the *Kansas City Star*, and 15 television and radio stations nationwide—remains one of the nation's most profitable media conglomerates. Its 1981 revenues were \$573 million and pre-tax profits were \$155 million. The \$2 million-a-year loss in Wilkes-Barre is seen as an acceptable business cost, according to the directors.

Thus the ITU has launched a corporate campaign against Capital Cities designed to affect the corporation's profits nationwide. The corporate campaign is a new strategy increasingly used by organized labor, in recognition that strikes are ineffective against corporations with widespread holdings.

Such a corporate campaign finally brought to a successful end the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers 17-year effort to organize the southern textile manufacturer J.P. Stevens. Corporate campaigns can include consumer boycotts, investigations of cash flow, shareholders resolutions and attempts to elect directors to corporate boards.

The ITU is ready to use any and all of these tactics in its effort to gain a fair contract in Kansas City. There, members of Mailers Local 7 and Typographical Local 80 have gone four years without wage increases. They have faced company attempts to eliminate union security clauses, shift work to non-union part-time workers, substitute a company pension plan for the multi-employer plan operated by the union and renege on agreements reached earlier under which the union accepted job security in trade for allowing increased use of modern newspaper technology.

Before the Buffalo meeting, the ITU hired one of the country's premier labor research and public relations firms, the Kamber Group of Washington, D.C. Kamber investigated Capital Cities' directors' business relationships and the conflicts of interest they might generate. Despite considerable roadblocks put up by the company, Kamber also obtained a list of the principal stockholders and set about contacting them to ask their support for the shareholders' resolution.

Recognizing that ITU members had

"peaceful" intentions and that they came fully prepared with facts on the corporation, Chairman of the Board Thomas Murphy allowed the members to ask all the questions they wished.

One company shareholder at the meeting early on commented sarcastically that ITU members were "a bunch of bimbos" who didn't even know how many shares of stock their proxies represented. As the meeting closed, this same shareholder said in shocked admiration, "They may not have known how much stock they had, but they sure knew everything else."

ITU members pointedly asked the directors if they were informed about the nature of the dispute in Kansas City; if they knew that the company had made misleading statements to the press regarding the negotiations—including claims that pension clauses were the only point of dispute; and if they knew their attorney in Kansas City, King, Ballou and Little, is a reputed union-buster.

The ITU proxy-holders then introduced the names of Ray Marshall, former secretary of labor, and Ed Asner, president of the Screen Actors Guild, as candidates for the Capital Cities board of directors. Chairman Murphy quipped that the directors would count the ballots

for Asner and Marshall, even though they knew "how the vote would come out."

Asner and Marshall predictably lost. But then came the vote on the shareholders' resolution demanding a report on labor policy. Kamber had received early promises of 405,000 votes, slightly over 3 percent of eligible voting shares. In order for the same resolution to receive Securities and Exchange Commission permission for resubmission next year, it had to get 3 percent.

When the vote came in, however, 904,482 ballots—6.85 percent of eligible shares—were cast in favor of the resolution. This totaled nearly 12 percent of votes actually cast. Corporate attorney Gerald Dickler, board secretary, paid the ITU resolution a left-handed compliment, admitting that this large vote showed that the labor resolution differed from "poor quality" resolutions offered other corporations.

The ITU representatives were jubilant. They had faced up to the chairman and directors of a Fortune 500 corporation on the directors' own turf—raising serious questions of corporate anti-labor policy and of questionable relations between Capital Cities' directors and other corporations. And, the ITU representatives said later, the vote told the corporation's directors in no uncertain terms that the ITU would be back until it won.

Drew Mendelson is a staff reporter for the *Kansas City Labor Beacon*.

Federal workers' rights in jeopardy

By Dan La Botz

CHICAGO

THE SAME REAGAN ADMINISTRATION that in 1981 smashed the life out of PATCO, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers, is now trying to squeeze the life out of the other federal workers unions through a series of administrative regulations attacking wages and working conditions and even threatening to gut federal employees' collective bargaining rights.

Some of the regulations proposed by the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) that appeared in the federal register on March 30, would change employee evaluation and promotion procedures

along with the rules governing layoffs or reductions in force (RIFs). They would reduce pay raises and overtime pay, speed up federal employees and take away both seniority rights and the merit system.

The regulations are subject under the Administrative Procedures Act to a comment period that runs through May 30. They cannot then be implemented for another 120 days, meaning that they could not go into effect until October 1, the beginning of the new fiscal year.

The most onerous of the proposed rules changes would drastically limit the right of federal employees' unions to bargain over working conditions—about the only thing such unions can now negotiate under the law. Don Divine, head of OPM,

Continued on facing page

claims he can enforce those changes without the commentary and implementation periods required under the Administrative Procedures Act.

While most workers in the private sector derive their collective bargaining rights from the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), federal workers' union rights come from Title VII of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978. Under that legislation federal employees are denied the right to strike, have no union shop, cannot bargain over wages or fringe benefits and may only negotiate over working conditions—and then only as specified in 5 USC 7106, the management rights clause.

Robert M. Tobias, executive vice-president and general counsel of the National Treasury Employees Union (NTEU)—which has about 65,000 members in the Treasury Department and other federal agencies and bargains for more than 120,000 workers—says, "We're particularly concerned about the regulations reducing the scope of bargaining. The

The most onerous of the OPM proposed rule changes would limit the right of federal employees' unions to bargain over work conditions.

scope of bargaining in the federal sector is already so abysmally narrow that to further restrict it would be outrageous."

Divine and OPM has argued that the new regulations will lead to increased productivity among government workers. But John Mulholland, director of the Labor Management Service Department of the American Federation of Government Employees AFL-CIO (AFGE)—which has 207,000 members and bargains for 700,000—says, "The union's position is that it is labor speed-up in very fancy dress."

In the past federal workers were evaluated on the basis of an objective standard, but now they will be forced to compete against each other. They will be graded on a bell curve and rated "outstanding," "exceeds fully successful," "fully successful," "minimally successful" or "unsatisfactory." Workers will need higher ratings than before to move through the 18 grades and 10 steps within each grade in the federal hierarchy, and promotions in federal career ladders will become difficult to attain.

"The majority will have to wait longer to get promotions, and Divine limits the number who will get them," Mulholland says. "The older workers just aren't going to get raises."

Mike Urquhart, an economist and a member of the executive board of AFGE Local 12—which bargains for about 5,000 workers in the Department of Labor—says, "It's not true that this will improve productivity. It will have a tremendously adverse impact of employee morale because there is no longer even a claim that the ratings one receives are fair and objective, since they'll be handed out on a bell curve."

Because of that, argues Urquhart, it will be harder to recruit high caliber personnel to work for the federal government. "Good people will go elsewhere, and that will also have an adverse impact on productivity."

Urquhart also says that although claiming to increase productivity, "the regulations are really aimed at reducing the rate of pay increases, as well as making it easier to get rid of people they don't like."

The new regulations would also deny employees the right to grieve their evaluations. To that AFGE leader Mulholland

Continued on following page

Counsel's right to work narrowed by labor board coup

By Joan Walsh

IT WAS ONE OF WASHINGTON'S quieter coups. When the Republican-dominated National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) voted 3-1 to strip General Counsel William Lubbers of his enforcement authority on May 4, even Lubbers, a Carter-appointed Democrat, wasn't told until it was over.

The board's decision left labor law's best minds puzzled about the new enforcement procedure. But it didn't take a Yale graduate to see the ideological design behind the move. The reorganization transferred Lubbers' enforcement-litigation duties to Board Solicitor Hugh Reilly, an eight-year veteran of the National Right-to-Work Committee's Legal Defense Foundation. Within the NLRB and outside of it, observers are calling the shakeup labor's equivalent of the Environmental Protection Agency scandal.

Placed on the board's agenda by NLRB Chair Donald Dotson just one week before the meeting, the reorganization strips Lubbers of his role in deciding which board decisions will be enforced in court. He retains his authority to issue complaints. But enforcement litigation is a pillar of NLRB effectiveness, since without a court judgment employers often ignore the board's non-binding decisions.

Now that duty belongs to Reilly, who will have to approve all briefs and pleadings before they go to court. The decision also transfers supervision of enforcement division attorneys from the general counsel to the board chair. That legally questionable move, however, may be reconsidered—either by the board or by the courts.

The reorganization effectively closes the division of power that has existed between the board chair and general counsel since 1955, when the NLRB delegated enforcement responsibilities to the general counsel. With Lubbers' term not up until May 1984, the board's impatient Reagan appointees apparently couldn't

ideological and that attorneys didn't have to fear that a political litmus test would be applied to their work. The new deputy solicitor, citing the rumors that were sweeping the capital, also warned the staff not to talk to the press.

Yet Slade, in a question-and-answer period after his remarks, refused to discuss the implications of the reorganization—who would supervise enforcement division attorneys, what Reilly would be looking for in their briefs and pleadings, what the general counsel's authority would be, even what Slade's own role in the new system was. According to an enforcement-division attorney present at the meeting, "He gave two answers to questions: either, 'The details are being worked out,' or 'The board's decision speaks for itself.' People left feeling more suspicious and anxious. Either they [the board] don't have any idea what they're doing—or they do."

Business bias.

The evidence suggests that the board has a clear idea of what it's doing. Reagan's NLRB appointments have been heavily weighted in favor of business. As early as July 1981, *Business Week* commented that the president "is tilting the NLRB sharply toward management." His first choice as board chair, John Van de Water, headed a management consulting firm that specialized in thwarting union drives. The AFL-CIO managed to block his confirmation in committee, but Van de Water wound up serving as acting chair for almost a year.

Dotson's background is strictly management law, except for a brief stint with the NLRB early in his career. Before his appointment as assistant labor secretary in 1981, he was chief labor counsel for Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. and worked for Western Electric and Westinghouse. The AFL-CIO initially vowed to block his appointment, but then decided not to testify against him, citing insufficient documentation of his reputed anti-labor record.

Hugh Reilly, meanwhile, had served as Dotson's executive assistant at the De-

partment of Labor after his eight years with the National Right to Work Committee. As a Right-to-Work attorney, the 43-year-old Reilly pled cases attacking contracts that allow unions to collect representation fees from non-members, a case the Supreme Court recently agreed to review. He was appointed solicitor barely two weeks before the board reorganization, but despite his background there was little opposition to his appointment since traditionally the solicitor's role has been minor.

Lubbers' style as general counsel likely didn't mesh well with Dotson's plans. While not known as a crusading labor partisan, Lubbers, a career NLRB attorney, is respected by union lawyers. He was close to former board chair John Fanning, the 25-year NLRB veteran who had few admirers in the business community. The connection between the two provoked a right-wing filibuster of Lubbers' general counsel appointment.

Yet Dotson's move to shove him aside and place the Right-to-Work Reilly in charge of enforcement may have been too much, too soon. Don Zimmerman, one of two remaining Carter appointees on the NLRB and the only board member to vote against the reorganization, is pressing the board to reconsider the move. No supporter of Dotson, Zimmerman says the agency is "polarized" but believes some compromise may be negotiable. The board met with Lubbers May 9, Zimmerman said, and planned to continue discussions throughout the week.

"I'm hopeful something can be worked out within the agency and I want to avoid polarizing the situation any more than it already is," he said. "There's been discussion between the board and the general counsel, and there are still open questions. Everything's on hold at this point."

Congressional reaction has been restrained during the board's discussions. But the House subcommittee on labor management relations is expected to hold hearings on the reorganization if internal negotiation doesn't bring about at least a partial turnaround. "We're very concerned, this looks like a move to politicize an agency that shouldn't be politicized," said one subcommittee staff person, who likened the controversy to Reagan's conflict-of-interest ridden EPA. "We've been instructed to watch the situation closely and consider holding hearings. There are substantial problems, maybe even legal implications."

The legal implications have to do with the transfer of attorney supervision from the general counsel to the board chair. Although the NLRB may be within its statutory rights in delegating enforcement responsibilities to the solicitor, instead of the general counsel, supervising staff attorneys (except the board members' assistants) is a statutory duty of the general counsel. The reorganization is sure to be attacked on those grounds. The union representing enforcement division attorneys is already investigating the move as a possible violation of bargaining agreements, according to its president Vicky Higman.

Meanwhile, labor groups, a little shocked by the move, are waiting to see what comes of NLRB discussions before

Reagan's NLRB transferred the general counsel's enforcement powers to the board solicitor, an eight-year veteran of the National Right-to-Work Committee. But the coup may have been too much, too soon.

wait to have its enforcement division headed by an ideological compatriot. Giving those duties to the solicitor—who works directly under the board—will enable the NLRB to "exercise its statutory powers more responsibly and effectively," the board says.

And that's all it's saying. No press release announced the decision to the media, although five days after the board meeting Executive Secretary John Truesdale released "minutes of action" tersely describing the new setup with no explanation of what provoked it. In the NLRB's appellate division, word of the decision leaked out soon after the board meeting, but the only formal notification to attorneys was an unsigned, undated memo distributed two days later.

That official announcement left the staff with questions, but they weren't answered in a meeting held last Tuesday by new deputy solicitor Eugene Slade. Sixty people—virtually the entire appellate branch, except Lubbers—listened to Slade's assurances that the move wasn't

officially responding. A group of union attorneys met in Washington on May 10 to discuss the developments, but decided any public discussion of its opposition strategies—such as a lawsuit to stop the reorganization—is premature.

"There are substantial legal questions," notes Elliot Bredhoff, general counsel to the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department. "This impinges on the supervisory function the statute gives to the general counsel, and if the matter isn't resolved by the board, I'd expect it's going to be the subject of legal action." Bredhoff, who says Lubbers has "faithfully represented the board in enforcing and defending its decisions," sees only "political motives behind what doesn't seem to have a rational motivation."

Murray Seeger of the AFL-CIO says the union is waiting to see what the board does before making a formal response. "We're watching. We know these people—they're ideologues. But they've started to look at the law, and they're having to swim backwards."

Labor leaders in the federal sector conclude Reagan is out to squeeze the life out of their organizations.

Continued from preceding page
says, "There is no due process. You take away the federal workers' rights today—tomorrow it will be the general public's."

The proposed regulations would also change RIFs, the rules governing bumping when there are layoffs. Under the Veterans Preference Act, veterans are now allowed to bump back until they find a position that they are qualified for. But if the new regulations go into effect, workers will only be able to bump one grade below their current position.

"So a veteran who's a GS11, who cannot qualify for a GS9 position [the next step down], but who could qualify for a GS7 position, will no longer be able to do that under these rules. We think that's a clear violation of the law," Mulholland says.

Tobias of NTEU agrees. "Divine would tie RIFs to performance, ignoring seniority, which is just totally against all reason and experience."

Labor unionists in the federal sector conclude that the Reagan administration is out to squeeze the life out of their organizations. "Divine has the attitude of private sector employers in the '20s and '30s who just dictated what was going to happen in the work place," Tobias says.

Urquhart of AFGE Local 12 says, "The big thing is that basically this is a large step backward toward the political spoils system. These new regulations would weaken employee rights. They can use the performance rating system and the RIF regulations to remove anybody they don't like, thus trying to enforce political loyalty with the administration policies."

The NTEU has already filed a class-action lawsuit on behalf of all federal employees against regulations that would restrict collective bargaining, while AFGE is taking action on several levels. Bernard Demczuk, political organizer for AFGE, says the union has a "multi-level political program that attacks OPM on four fronts: administrative, legal, political and legislative."

The administrative level refers to local labor-management collective bargaining agreements. For example, AFGE Local 12 has a clause in its contract governing rules and regulations that requires negotiations with the local before any new regulations are put into effect. His local will

be fighting on that level, says Urquhart.

At the same time, the union will battle in the courts. "We've already done a legal analysis of it," Mulholland says, "and if these regulations become fact, we'll try to challenge some of them through the courts."

Simultaneously, AFGE is organizing on the political front. Allen Kaplan, national vice-president of AFGE from District 7 headquartered in Chicago, says, "Our members are concerned about these proposals and they're mobilizing by contacting their representatives. We think we can kill these proposals in the Congress."

Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) is introducing a bill to kill the regulations, and Mulholland claims 60 co-sponsors. "Even the Republicans hate it," he says. "Warner and Wolfe of Virginia oppose it."

"If all else fails, we'll turn our members out en masse for 1984 to get the Democrats back in. We are in favor of the merit system; we want it resurrected under the good Democrats."

Missing from AFGE's four-point program for fighting OPM is labor's strongest weapon—economic action, the withholding of labor, the strike. Federal workers have little heart for the thought of striking in a period of economic depression, in an administration of union busters and in a sector where strikes are illegal.

But it can be noted that if postal workers are no longer subject to the arbitrary and capricious regulations of Divine of

OPM, it is not only because the U.S. Post Office was reorganized into the semi-independent U.S. Postal Service, but also because postal workers shut down the system in a national wildcat in 1970 as well as shut down various parts of it in several local strikes during the last decade.

A federal employees' strike is certainly not on the agenda today or in the near future, but it may come to that. The stakes are high. As Urquhart says, "This administration, with the concessions movement in private industry, is trying to develop an anti-union atmosphere and has been hostile to unions since they came into office."

"If the management rights changes become effective," he continues, "they essentially would remove all subjects of importance from union organizations. In effect, while the unions would still exist, they would have no power or authority. This is essentially a way of gutting the unions—without having to break them."

Dan La Botz writes frequently for In These Times on labor issues.

Garaud

ment as motivated by "panic" in the face of "Soviet military superiority." In reality, most people in the peace movement, rightly or wrongly, are not especially afraid of the Soviets. Rather, they are afraid of a nuclear war that could be triggered by either side's exaggerated fear of the other—or even by an American attempt to push its global strategic advantage too far in Europe.

For the people at *Geopolitique*, Germany is the problem. France is protected by the independent French nuclear deterrent. Germany is not. Once the Americans go home (as they are sure to do for selfish reasons), the Soviets can take over Germany and then France will be isolated and insecure.

The short and long run.

General Gallois' short-run solution is to insist on deployment of the American nuclear Euromissiles as a way of enforcing the U.S. commitment to NATO. He sees both Reagan's "zero option" proposal and the "no first use" proposal authored by George Kennan, Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy and Gerard Smith in the spring 1982 issue of *Foreign Affairs* as dangerous signs of the American desire to abandon Europe to Soviet hordes.

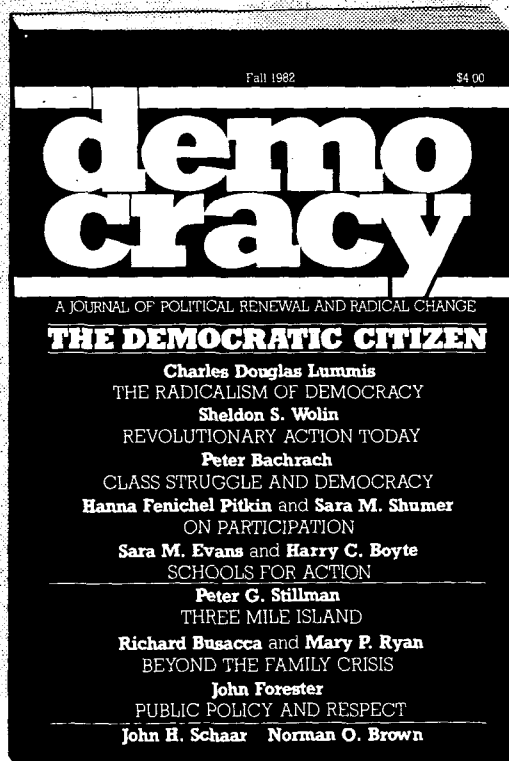
The long run is more vague. Since the mid-'60s, the "German Gaullists" such as Franz-Josef Strauss have wanted to follow the French example of having and controlling their own nuclear deterrent. But this has always been opposed by French Gaullists.

Former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt records in his memoirs that in a conversation in Paris in June 1965, de Gaulle made fun of Brandt's request for the right to take part in decisions concerning NATO nuclear defense policy. Did Brandt seriously think an atomic power would ever let a non-atomic power have a say? East and West were in basic agreement to keep Germany out of nuclear policy-making, de Gaulle said.

Brandt also recalls in his memoirs that President George Pompidou worried about dangerous Soviet-American arms reductions talks that might lead to the one thing France most dreads: neutralization of Germany. Pompidou said Europe could only be defended by U.S. atomic arms, but that Europe's economic future lay somewhere between the Soviet system and American-style economic liberalism.

Brandt replied that he'd like to know more about what parts of Germany were targeted for French nuclear weapons. Privately, he noted that while talking about European defense cooperation, the French were always single-mindedly looking for German financing of French projects.

That was 10 years ago, yet some things seem not to have changed.



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LETTERS

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BOONIE BOOST

JOHN JUDIS' PERSPECTIVE (ITT, APRIL 27) on the heckling of Jeane Kirkpatrick bothered me.

Judis gives us a barometer of when to heckle and when not to heckle. Disruption was permissible during the post-1964 Vietnam war period after "promises were unkept and lies were exposed" (paraphrasing Judis). But the situation in Central America has not developed to an equivalent state of public awareness, he says, indeed, the debate is just beginning. This analysis suggests that the "Vietnam era" is at an end, the Central American period has not matured.

Bunk! I don't know where Judis has been burying his head, but here in sleepy old St. Louis there has been city-wide awareness of human rights issues in Central America and U.S. involvement in that region for the past several years. Furthermore, I don't think the Vietnam war has been forgotten here. The cynicism engendered by that war still marks the politics of disinterest and distrust. Perhaps a goodly number of people don't engage in the "El Salvador debate" because they believe the Vietnam war demonstrated that the world's "finest working democracy" did nothing less than kill a lot of people for no reason except to make a few people a lot richer. Or so it would seem. That perception is present in the attitude of people toward U.S. involvement in Central America: many more people have arrived at conclusions about El Salvador than Judis gives credit.

Anyway, Judis has it backwards. The University of California hecklers were exercising their freedom to speak, a freedom that recognizes no decorum and no authorized forum. For two years, Jeane Kirkpatrick—as a servant of the people of the U.S.—has been representing only the narrow interests of one wavelength of the ideological spectrum. Her job is to be a principal foreign policy propagandist for the current government. She has enjoyed the platform of many a television program or newspaper interview. Her pronouncements have been left largely unchallenged by the media.

Now comes Kirkpatrick to a prestigious university whose regents afford her a platform that by its nature excludes or downplays conflicting views. Does Kirkpatrick come to inform and educate, or to propagandize? Where is the free exchange of ideas? Judis suggests that the protesters would have better spent their time "exposing the fallacies" of Kirkpatrick's speech. Who would have even reported the speech outside of Berkeley without the disruption?

—Roland Klose
Editor, St. Louis Journalism Review
St. Louis

DISRUPTION

AS EDITORIAL PAGE EDITOR OF THE University of California at Berkeley student newspaper, I was bombarded by irate people condemning the student-led disruption of UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's February 15 speech here. John Judis' article about that demonstration (ITT, April 27) sounded like any of those calls for emotional constraint and constitutional respect on the part of the outraged protesters.

I am writing to take issue with Judis' assertion that the disruption of Kirkpatrick's speech on human rights was counterproductive. According to Judis, the protesters "invited supporters of Kirkpatrick's views to deflect the issue from one of human rights in Central America to one of free speech on the Berkeley campus." Further, Judis wrote that such protests jeopardize the standing of the left in the Central American debate. "The left should enter this debate," he stated, "not try to cut it off."

Contrary to Judis' argument, the question of Kirkpatrick's "free speech" rights is related to the issue of human rights in Central America. Through the campus-wide debate that followed the Kirkpatrick protest, it became clear that both the nature of protest and the nature of a speaker's words must be considered when deciding if, indeed, "free speech" rights are violated. In Kirkpatrick's case, there were no easy answers to this complex question. Most of the debate on campus considered both the issues of free speech and human rights in Central America.

But do such disruptions really compromise the moral and political standing of the left? To be sure, there were calls for swift punishment against the protesters—the *San Francisco Examiner* called on the university administration to "maintain the integrity of its campus against the professional shriekers of the radical left, or any other radicalism." But the disruption stirred students at U.C. Berkeley to action—some of it reactionary—and there was a good deal of educational progress. Beyond this, such protests send a message that Reagan and Company have gone too far in their support of oppressive regimes. As an expression of student outrage and stimulus for student activity, the disruption of Kirkpatrick's speech was appropriate and successful.

There is an urgent need for the left to enter the Central American debate. But disrupting administration players in this debate, at the proper times, can also provide energy and spontaneity that the left desperately needs to rouse itself and others to action.

—Peter Maas
Berkeley, Calif.

WHEN THE SAINTES TRY MARCHING IN

JOHN JUDIS' ATTACK ON THE DEMONSTRATORS at Kirkpatrick's lecture in Berkeley (ITT, April 27) confuses two separate issues: the appropriateness of the tactics of the demonstrators and the appropriateness of the response to the demonstration.

At this point, few people would contest the fact that SAINTES (Students Against Intervention in El Salvador) made a tactical mistake in deciding to heckle Kirkpatrick. SAINTES failed to anticipate the reaction to the protest not because, as Judis claims, the members of SAINTES "acted with their gaze fixed backward on the Vietnam war movement," but because, unfortunately, each new generation of students must learn some things for themselves.

However, the issue is no longer whether the actions of the demonstrators were right, but why the reaction against them has been so extreme. The political debate following the protest has not been of the rational, restrained sort that Judis advocates, but has taken the form of an emotional outpouring of venom

against the demonstrators. This reaction against the right to heckle a public official has a much more strongly anti-democratic character than the demonstration itself. Government officials, like Kirkpatrick, have no problems making their views known. People who protest the official policy of the government, such as the members of SAINTES, are more likely to have their views suppressed.

As Judis writes, the reaction to the event has "deflected the issue from one of human rights in Central America to one of free speech on the Berkeley campus." Judis' article, coming two months after the events at Berkeley, continues to draw our attention away from other issues while adding nothing new to the discussion.

Judis would have done more to further public awareness and public debate if he had devoted his column to protesting the fact that the State Department recently denied a visa to Hortensia Bussi de Allende, who had been invited to speak by several groups concerned with U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America, including SAINTES.

—Elizabeth J. Greenberg
University of California, Berkeley

RECOGNITION

THANK YOU FOR YOUR EDITORIAL (ITT, April 20). At long last, the left is acknowledging the strength and presence of blacks and Third World leadership in America. Black people have been the forerunners of all left movements in America. It was the racism inherent in the left that prevented us from believing that black people were capable of inspiring, developing and leading movements for all people.

But as Mayor Coleman Young said, "In the future, people will be looking to blacks for humane, innovative leadership; particularly in urban areas, for it is these cities that will give refuge to overwhelmingly poor, minority and progressive populations."

—Amanda Berger
San Francisco

Editor's note: We have no quarrel with Coleman Young's assertion, but that was not the point of our editorial. Our point was that the mobilization of Chicago's black community—for the first time, blacks voted in greater relative numbers than whites—created the possibility of a new kind of winning coalition. Such coalitions can succeed only where there are large concentrations of blacks. And once victorious, they must

quickly move to win the support of white working people. But we believe this creates new possibilities in many places.

USA TODAY

YOUR READERS SHOULD BE INFORMED that a boycott against *USA Today* (ITT, March 2) has been endorsed by five Bay Area (Calif.) central labor councils.

Some may be impressed by the paper's "left-liberal stands" (Letters, ITT, March 23), but we printing union members aren't fooled by this slick product which is competing with the union newspapers where we are employed.

In northern California, the paper is printed in the plant of the *San Rafael Independent Journal*, scab-operated and non-union since the bitter strike of 1970-71.

People working for social and political change through our unions and community organizations are concerned about just what the Gannett publishing empire is promoting with *USA Today* on the backs of newspaper workers fighting to hold on to jobs.

—Anita Reinthaler
Member, ITU Local 21
San Francisco

CRYPTO CRISTEROS?

I WAS SURPRISED AND DISAPPOINTED to see an article in your paper that romanticized the women who participated in one of the most reactionary social movements in the history of Mexico ("Women Warriors," ITT, April 13). Sure, there are some interesting characters among them, good feature story material, but you're sure to find the same if you delve into Southern whites who have supported the Ku Klux Klan in your country. Why don't you do a story on Phyllis Schlafly and her friends? They "go out at night, travel, meet men and have adventures," too.

As for this subtle way of arousing sympathy for the Cristero rebellion by linking it to the emancipation of women, all I can say is, for Chrissakes!

—Teresa Garcia Hodgson
Montreal

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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PERSPECTIVES

China and the Soviets flirting

By Roy Medvedev

WHEN THE CHINESE Peoples' Republic (CPR) was proclaimed in 1949, it quickly established close relations with the Soviet Union. Mao Tse Tung often spoke of the "eternal and unshakable" friendship between China and the USSR, and called upon the Chinese to "learn from the Soviet Union." Soviet economic and cultural assistance to China increased rapidly until 1953-57.

But the "eternal" friendship of the CPR and the USSR did not last even 10 years. The first cracks in the relations between the two countries appeared in 1956-57. By 1960 relations had worsened so much that the temperamental Khrushchev recalled Soviet specialists from China. Economic links began to erode while ideological polemics were on the rise. The final schism occurred with the onset of the "Cultural Revolution" in China. In 1969 ideological confrontation turned into military confrontation. Skirmishes on the Sino-Soviet border grew larger in scale. All along the border on both sides there were extended military zones. Moreover, China succeeded in producing nuclear missiles that could reach almost any target in the Soviet Union. Similar systems and no less than 45 divisions of the Soviet army were deployed against China on Soviet territory. In the early '70s, Premier Brezhnev

spoke seriously to then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger concerning the Chinese or "yellow" threat. Likewise, higher governmental echelons in China feared war with the Soviet Union. Underground shelters many kilometers in length were created under Chinese cities.

Mao's death and the removal of the "gang of four" at first changed nothing in Sino-Soviet relations. Any new group of leaders was obliged to continue anti-Soviet rhetoric. In 1978-79, however, changes began. Railroad and air communications improved, as did postal service between the countries. So did the activities of the Commission on the Navigation of Border Rivers. Soviet scholars and athletes began to visit China, and their Chinese counterparts came to the USSR. In the fall of 1979 negotiations between governmental delegations of the two countries took place in Moscow. Many books by Soviet authors began to be published in China and stories and tales by Chinese authors began to appear in the USSR. The first type of books chosen were, naturally, Chinese works critical of the Chinese system and Russian works critical of life in the USSR.

China and the USA.

The United States greeted the formation of the Chinese Peoples Republic with extreme hostility. The U.S. refused diplomatic relations with Red China, supported Chiang Kai-Shek in Taiwan and blocked the CPR's entry into the United Nations. In 1950-53, tens of thousands of Americans were killed in South Korea by

Chinese "volunteers," and hundreds of thousands of Chinese soldiers were killed by the American expeditionary forces. The U.S. set up a system of military bases around China, and China sent the U.S. hundreds of "serious warnings." The confrontation between the CPR and the U.S., which had intensified with the "Cultural Revolution," was the main reason for American involvement in the Vietnamese war. At that time, the U.S. was indeed China's "No. 1 Enemy."

In the early '70s, Mao's regime began a complex reshuffling in domestic and foreign politics. Americans sounding out the situation met with positive response in Peking and the visits of Kissinger and Nixon to China laid the ground for a normalization of Sino-American relations as well as for some development of economic ties. The CPR took its place in the UN and Taiwan left that organization.

But internal affairs in China in the '70s were not stable, especially after the death of Mao Tse Tung, and this hampered the development of Sino-American relations. China gained nothing from the American defeat in Vietnam, where Soviet influence had prevailed. When the Carter administration came to power, rapprochement with China was accelerated. This was when projects playing the "Chinese card" began to appear in the U.S. foreign policy game.

A notable breakthrough in Sino-American relations began in 1978 when the U.S. inaugurated diplomatic relations with the CPR and recalled its ambassador from Taiwan. The new Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping made a long trip to the U.S. and numerous political and economic delegations from the U.S. visited China. The visit of the U.S. secretary of defense to China aroused hopes for closer cooperation in the area of military strategy. At the same time, China's economic ties with other developed capitalist countries expanded significantly. It seemed that China was becoming an American ally in Asia and the Far East. Moreover, after the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan no one doubted that this alliance would be mainly directed against the USSR.

Signs of significant change.

In 1981-82, marked changes took place within the U.S.-China-USSR triangle. China sharply reduced its number of contracts with Western countries, refused credit from them and backed out of a large number of ambitious projects. This was not a rejection of plans for economic development. But with the leadership more firmly in place, it became clearer what the country's real possibilities were. The previously elaborated plan of "four types of modernization" had required about \$500 billion in investment credits, including about \$100 billion for the importation of equipment from the developed capitalist countries by 1985. This was a path not to development, but to bankruptcy. Many Western businessmen received not profits but fines from the Chinese when they reneged on contracts. The recent enthusiasm in American business circles and in those of other Western countries diminished considerably.

The coming of the Reagan administration to power increased China's alienation from the U.S. China is dissatisfied with Reagan's policy toward Taiwan. Nor has Sino-American military cooperation advanced under Reagan. More conservative and practical Americans do not consider it rational to set aside tens of billions of dollars for the modernization of the Chinese army in the illusory hope of exerting influence on the foreign and domestic policies of Communist China. China has criticized American policies in

Central America, Africa and the Middle East and has made it clear that there can be no talk of a "Chinese card" in the politics of any nation. The CPR insists on being a full-fledged participant in any superpower "game." It long ago stopped being an ally of the U.S. and does not wish to encumber itself with new military-political obligations of any sort.

As Sino-American relations began to "freeze up" a certain "thawing" began to occur in Sino-Soviet relations. China reacted very weakly to numerous offers of Soviet leaders, as well as to communiques from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1981 and in the first half of '82. Still, it is worthy of note that 17 groups of Chinese scholars and several sports teams came to the Soviet Union in 1981. China bought up half a million Soviet books and offered to increase the level of trade between the two countries. A group of Soviet scholars and specialists visited Chinese enterprises, as well as scholarly and educational institutions of the CPR. In the first half of 1982 this policy of "little steps" continued. A group of Chinese specialists spent several months familiarizing itself with the workings of Gosplan (State Economic Planning) and Gosstroy (the State Committee for Building) of the USSR, as well as scholarly institutes, firms and collective farms. Important phrases about the Russian desire to improve Sino-Soviet relations sounded in the speeches of L.I. Brezhnev in April and September of 1982. The number of positive publications about China increased. A film about Chinese folk art

With Mao gone and the Soviets hard pressed in Europe, a lessening of hostility and tension can help both countries.

was shown on Soviet television.

Since the fall of 1982, articles critical of Chinese leaders and Chinese politics have not been printed in the Soviet press. The fall edition of the journal *Problems of the Far East* came out for the first time in many years without a single negative article on China. Negotiations between the countries were renewed at the level of vice ministers of foreign affairs. These negotiations will deal with a broad series of problems alternately in Moscow and Peking. In the new Soviet law concerning the borders of the USSR, the fairness of demarcating the border in joint rivers at the navigable center of those rivers is laid forth as a principle. This simplifies the determination of the Russo-Chinese border in the Ussuri river, which formerly was drawn through the Chinese shoreline. In China likewise there has been a sharp drop in the number of anti-Soviet publications as well as in incidents along the Chinese-Vietnamese border. Changes in the leadership of the USSR, as well as the recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party have not altered these new attitudes.

Motives for rapprochement.

It is well known that in the CPR in recent years many aspects of Mao Tse Tung's policies between 1958 and 1976 have been subjected to strong censure. And although the Soviet press does not consider this criticism altogether consistent or complete (as if there had ever been a consistent or a complete criticism of the crimes of Stalin!), still Chinese rejection of part of Mao's legacy removes one of the obstacles to rapprochement between the USSR and the CPR. Mass rehabilitation of the victims of the "Cultural Revolution" often returns to political life people who were raised respecting the USSR

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and the traditions of Sino-Soviet friendship.

Today the problem of leadership and of a "great leader" for the world Communist movement, which hindered relations between the CPSU and the CPC (Communist Party of China) in the '60s, is practically nonexistent. After Stalin's death, Mao fashioned himself "the classic of Marxism-Leninism" and a peculiar sort of "Pope" of world communism. Nevertheless, the ideological apparatus of the Central Committee of the CPSU under the leadership of M.A. Suslov and Brezhnev always functioned on the unspoken assumption that it was the CPSU and its leaders who would determine the strategies of the world Communist movement. The ambitions of the new Chinese and new Soviet leaders are more modest, and other centrifugal forces in the Communist movement have become even more noticeable.

Economic difficulties of both countries push China and the USSR toward rapprochement. Military confrontation has become too much of a burden. The expansion of military programs in the U.S. is forcing Soviet leaders to seek cuts in military spending on the Chinese border. The leaders wish to maintain parity with the U.S. while not overwhelming the Soviet economy with further military expansion. China, which today is in 103rd place among world nations in per capita income, is hoping to quadruple its gross national product by 1990 and excessive military expenditures could impede reaching this goal.

With the liquidation of the "Cultural Revolution," a rapprochement of the political and ideological structures of the Soviet Union and China has been taking place. There are still many problems, but one should not exaggerate their importance. Fear of the Chinese threat is disappearing in the USSR and fear of the danger from the north is passing in China as well. It has become obvious that the USSR has no intention of conquering and subjugating China with its population of a billion, and that China does not intend to conquer the sparsely populated and austere regions of Siberia and the Soviet Far East. The poverty of the Chinese nation and the dissatisfaction of simple Soviet citizens with the worsening of the country's productivity remain the basic reality both countries must deal with.

What can U.S. offer China?

There is no doubt that the U.S. can build more technically advanced plants and provide China with better products than can the Soviet Union. The possibilities of extending credit to China are likewise much greater in the West. China, however, cannot effectively use the more perfected and expensive Western technology. Even in the '50s, China introduced modifications into Soviet projects in an attempt to replace expensive mechanization with cheaper human labor. The conservation of hard currency was not the only thing at issue; the government wished to give work to as many Chinese workers



Soviet technology, though less advanced than that of the U.S., is more compatible with the needs of the still-primitive Chinese economy.

and peasants as possible.

Of course, it is important for China to have a certain number of supermodern production plants on the Western model. But it cannot plan the rebuilding of its entire economy over the next 10 to 20 years on such a basis. Undoubtedly, China needs the West to extend it credit. But the conditions on which the West is willing to extend that credit are calculated on the basis of more experienced workers, engineers and managers than the Chinese have at their disposal. Few countries succeeded in development of their economies with the help of American, Japanese and Western European bank credits. It is difficult to imagine that China will prove itself more capable in the implementation of Western financial aid than Argentina, Mexico, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia, which now find themselves on the verge of bankruptcy and can barely cope with paying back the interest on their loans to Western financial institutions.

American aid to China is not based on altruism. When they invest their capital in China, American businessmen are within their rights to expect as much profit as they realize when investing in Western Europe, the U.S. itself or South Korea. It cannot be otherwise in the harsh conditions of Western business. But China is unable to guarantee success if too large amounts of Western capital are invested there. The idea of opening enterprises in China with mixed capital or entirely foreign capital has not been taken up very readily in American business circles. In the first place, the Chinese regime is not yet viewed as sufficiently stable. Second, foreign enterprises have been operative in China for a period of only 20 years. And third, Western businessmen lack experience in carrying on business in Chinese conditions. They prefer to set up

small assembly plants in China or offices providing foreign trade or tourism services. China has also offered to export labor to other countries. But China is surrounded by densely populated countries and Western countries are already suffering from unemployment. For these reasons such deals have not been very widespread so far.

The results of Sino-American trade, moreover, do not give much reason to be hopeful. China could buy many necessary products from the U.S., but it has few products that are needed by the U.S. It now exports tea, nuts, tungsten and tin, feathers, woven goods and fireworks. The greatest opportunities for China are in the export of textile goods. However, Chinese textile imports have led to protests in the U.S. and to government imposed limitations. The prognosis for Chinese-American trade so far has not been promising. Japan has been more successful in this sphere. But to Japan, too, China is not exporting surplus items, but exchanging goods it needs for others that it needs even more. This is a poor basis for the development of trade.

Sino-Soviet trade.

The modernization of Chinese industry must involve first of all the updating of plants built there in the '50s with Soviet assistance. The experience of the '50s demonstrated to China the advantages of cooperation with the Soviets. Soviet possibilities have vastly increased since that time. Soviet equipment is often simpler and less costly, although less effective also, than American equipment. And this may seem more advantageous to China. The power of Soviet "heavy" industry is enormous, and in the number of machines produced we have surpassed the U.S. —although we are behind in the quality

of those machines. It is not easy for the USSR to sell its machines in industrially developed countries, but they are readily bought up in the countries of the Third World. China is a potentially important market for Soviet machines and devices. And the more Soviet technology China acquires, the more the Chinese market for Soviet goods will expand. The USSR could sell to China at discount prices equipment that has become "obsolete" for use in large Soviet concerns, but which could work well in the conditions of more primitive Chinese industrial production, especially in the provinces. The Soviet Union provides the Third World many types of technological information virtually free of charge. The salaries of Soviet specialists are lower than those of their American counterparts. The Soviet Union, which has no private banks or competition, could extend China credit over long periods and at more advantageous rates. From the Eastern regions of

the USSR, China could receive certain types of important raw materials. Training of Chinese cadres in the USSR would be cheaper than study in the U.S.

But what can China provide the Soviet Union? The weakening of the military confrontation between the two countries is in itself a significant relief for the USSR, and is worth some concessions in the economic sphere. Moreover, the USSR can import in large quantities products of Chinese light industry that the West does not wish to import. In our country it is precisely "light" industry that is underdeveloped and the purchasing power of the Soviet citizenry exceeds the ability of Soviet light industry to supply consumer goods. Therefore, Chinese textiles, dishware, the products of folk artisans, fruits and canned goods, etc., can be a useful addition to the Soviet internal market. There could arise an interest in the USSR in Chinese labor in the Far East and in Siberia. In the '50s, no less than 500,000 Chinese laborers worked here under contract. In the '80s this number could be increased significantly.

If the rapprochement of China and the USSR reaches a certain degree of acceleration, it will be hard to stop it.

China will not become the USSR's military-political ally in the foreseeable future. Nor will it become such an ally of the U.S. China will try to preserve an equilibrium in its relations with both superpowers and use the aid of both the USSR and the Western countries. In the final analysis, such a position of China with its billion population may become a factor for normalization and detente in the world as a whole. Up until now Mao's China has been a destabilizing force in world politics. Now perhaps a new future is opening up for China.

Translated by Lisa Crone

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Jack Zipes

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INPRINT

CHILDHOOD



The fairy tale "Sleeping Beauty" teaches little girls to be passive and patient.

Capitalism happily ever after

Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion

By Jack Zipes

Wildman Press, 205 pp., \$9.95

By Alfie Kohn

...and presently he stooped and kissed her, and she awaked, and opened her eyes, and looked very kindly on him...and they lived very happily together until their lives' end.

—Sleeping Beauty

The psychologist Carol Tavris tells the story of a four-year-old girl who had just encountered her first female physician. "Guess what!" she exclaimed to her grandmother. "The nurse was a doctor!"

Four years of living is apparently more than enough time to learn how the world works. After all, parents usually treat boys differently from girls almost immediately after birth. Add to this the influence of TV, school and other children, and the rapidity of socialization becomes easy to understand.

One of the more effective—and least noticed—ways society transmits its ideology is through the fairy tale. Those charming stories about beautiful princesses and magic spells contain implicit messages about what adult life should be like. In fact, they are largely invented for that very purpose. So argues Jack Zipes in his latest analysis and history of the genre. Sexism and class prejudice peek out from between the lines of these classic tales.

Zipes offers a social history of fairy tales intended to illuminate both the motivation of their creators and the themes they communicate. Charles Perrault (who gave us "Sleeping Beauty," "Little Red Riding Hood" and "Cinderella" in the late 17th century) was making sure that "young people would be properly groomed for their social functions," and the Brothers Grimm were "bourgeois missionaries." Hans Christian Anderson, meanwhile, is depicted as a fawning social

climber who tried to legitimate the social order and preach self-deprivation in his stories. Taken together, the classic fairy tales offer a pastiche of reactionary values: autocracy, social Darwinism ("might makes right"), prudishness.

And—most prominently—sexism. The princess in "Sleeping Beauty" "is bred to become the ideal aristocratic lady," according to Zipes. "Further, she is expected to be passive and patient for a hundred years until a prince rescues and resuscitates her." This ideal runs through most fairy tales: "the mark of beauty for a female is to be found in her submission, obedience, humility, industry and patience."

In his earlier book on the subject, *Breaking the Magic Spell*, Zipes took time to respond to the psychoanalytic view of fairy tales presented by Bruno Bettelheim, but in the current volume, there is scarcely a word. Bettelheim's *The Uses of Enchantment* tried to show that these stories speak to the child's unconscious needs and anxieties and contribute to his or her inner growth. "Sleeping Beauty," for him, is a symbolic tale of sexual awakening, particularly reassuring to readers in the period just before puberty.

In theory, one should be able to juxtapose Bettelheim and Zipes and witness an illuminating dialog. The outlines of two such distinct and competing theoretic

Hans Christian Anderson is depicted as a social climber who preached the status quo.

cal frameworks pose clearcut questions. Are fairy tales to be understood at the level of self or society? Are they healthy and liberating or detrimental and repressive?

But the clash is unsatisfying. If

been a meter reader for Brooklyn/Queens Water Utility. For at least eight hours a day he walks in and out of the basements of strange houses or shares the front seat of a truck with his partner, Joe Flushing Avenue, a hulking clown with an insult for every occasion and a come-on for every female.

For all its dullness, Joe's job could be far worse. He knows this, but would still like to quit. Yet at this stage of his life, there seems little else to do.

Joe is married to Rosie, who he met at college. Rosie works as a waitress near Wall Street, but to Joe she's still a "college person...because she almost graduated and because she reads in bed every night." Rosie and Joe genuinely love each other, but over time the routine of their lives has drawn them apart. That distance grows as Rosie aspires to an education and a life in "the city."

Rosie had hoped to travel to Europe with a friend before settling down. Instead she and Joe were married as soon as he got back from Vietnam. Joe insisted that she leave school. "He had been out of the world for too long. Out of its sense of time. When you return, what you do is get married, have children, own things, weigh yourself down, at-

Bettelheim is distressfully apolitical, Zipes is equally "apsychological." And that is only the beginning of the trouble with his book. It is never sure of what it wants to be: a history of the genre, a biographical treatment of the key writers or a Marxist-feminist analysis of the fairy tales themselves. There is a wealth of material here to interest a small number of scholars, but the lay reader looking for a crisp social criticism of fairy tales will be disappointed.

Besides being arcane and difficult to read, *Fairy Tales* has substantive problems. For one thing, the interpretations are often contrived or tendentious or both. "Fire=revolution," he explains parenthetically in one analysis, which recalls the excesses of some psychoanalytic interpretation. About "The Nightingale," a lovely Anderson tale concerning a bird whose sweet song drives away the spectre of death from the Emperor, Zipes writes: "He [the nightingale] agrees to be the emperor's songbird forever as long as he can come and go as he pleases. Feudalism has been replaced by a free market system; yet the bird/artist is willing to serve loyally and keep the autocrat in power." Even a story featuring "an ordinary person [who] virtually obliterates a rich arrogant landowner" is condemned for its "hidden referent of bourgeois power."

In any case, Zipes is quite right that fairy tales are neither ageless nor universal. But to begin to inquire into why they were written and what effect they have, one stumbles onto a host of troublesome issues. Should a fairy tale be non-political? Can it be? Must our goal be to substitute one ideological agenda for another? Since all the revisionist tales cited approvingly by Zipes are progressive "transfigurations" of the classics, what might an exemplary original tale look like? And how ready are children to hear it? *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, alas, is the wrong place to look for serious treatment of these questions.

Alfie Kohn teaches an interdisciplinary course on humor at Tufts College.

tach yourself to its surface, nestle under its wings. You do it right away. And you don't think about leaving again."

Joe's attitude toward work was more or less the same: "Nobody likes their job. You're not supposed to. You show up in the morning because it's expected of you. Which was his mistake. Which still is his mistake. You don't do what's expected of you. You do what you want. Everybody else does but nobody ever told Joe about it."

Fatalism in the family.

Joe has inherited a tradition of powerful fatalism and he sees himself, like his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, as a *testa di minghia*—a *schmuck*, as another ethnic group might put it.

Joe is filled with self-contempt and a bitter, barely-hidden resentment toward those who appear to be living out their freedom. When Rosie finally leaves him, reluctantly and as a last resort, these feelings take over. In a subtle balancing of introspection and rage, Wachtel presents Joe as a victim bent in half under the weight of his own frustration, torn apart by feelings that he's never been able to make sense of, much less communicate to any-

Continued top of next page

FICTION

The life of an ordinary Joe

Joe the Engineer

By Chuck Wachtel

William Morrow, 216 pp., \$11.95

By David D'Arcy

Richmond Hill, Queens, is a white working-class neighborhood of New York whose quiet streets are lined with three-story frame houses, one of which, Hollywood tells us, is the home of Archie Bunker. This neighborhood is also the setting of *Joe the Engineer*, a spare, vivid first novel by Chuck Wachtel that goes far beyond the usual caricatures of working-class people.

Wachtel's novel is a portrait of frustration that tells the story of crushed aspirations in the matter-of-fact language of everyday life.

Joe the engineer is Joe Lazaro, whose grandfather left Sicily in search of work, and never got farther inland than the Brooklyn

Navy Yard. In high school, Joe came across the dictionary definition of engineer by chance and chose that for his future career: "Engineer: one who designs, constructs and operates the structures, machines and other devices of industry and everyday life." Joe took to reciting this from memory to his friends and they gave him the nickname. He even tried studying engineering in college, but dropped out in the middle of his third semester. Three months later he was in boot camp, and after that in Vietnam. Now the nickname simply distinguishes Joe from the many other Joes in the neighborhood.

Joe the Meter Reader.

The novel opens in the summer of 1977. The Son of Sam dominates news and conversation. Joe is 27, and for the five years since he's been out of the army, he's

FEMINISM

Male violence and women's political status

Women and Male Violence

By Susan Schechter

South End Press, 367 pp., \$7.50

By Susan Osborn

Don't ask why she stayed; ask why he beat her.

—Marta Ashley

As an adolescent, a man is taught to dominate; he is permitted imperious and flagrant notice of his existence. A man learns confidence in his body, he stands up to the world, his actions ratify it. There appears in man, perhaps as a result of his socializa-

most efficient way of ensuring female subordination.

Schechter's compassionate account of the battered women's movement is divided into two sections. The first is a lengthy history of the movement, including stories of the development of various shelters and coalitions. While this section may be an inspiration for activists, to the lay reader looking for close insight and rigorous investigation, the first eight chapters read as a breathless and somewhat self-congratulatory hagiography of a movement. One wonders if this section might have been better

"right" to control "his" wife, regardless of the means. Capitalism is cited as an especially pernicious foe: with the rise of industrial capitalism, men were brought out of the home and into the wage-labor economy. Productive labor became defined as wage-labor and, for the first time, working at home and working for a wage became separate phenomena. Women who did not work for wages seemed detached from the economic life of the community. While a woman's work is integral to capitalism (it is she who socializes, cleans, cooks and prepares everyone to go to work), her work is considered socially unnecessary. Furthermore, and perhaps of even greater significance, in the traditional family made necessary by a capitalist system, a wife's contact with the outside world is mediated by her husband and children—therefore, the very meaning of her life is not in her hands.

Romantic myths exorcised.

Many feminists tend to view the so-called inherent goodness and

based on the recognition of this mutual oppression in order to succeed in their goals.

A few objections: I have trouble with Schechter's denigration of psychoanalysis: although psychoanalytic explanations can appear reductive, especially when taken out of context as they are here, psychoanalysis allows us to better understand subconscious motivations, which if not the whole, are part of understanding the nature of violent men. I also found myself choking just a little on coming upon her infrequent but obtrusive romanticization of the poor: one finds it difficult to accept that poor people are more predisposed to moral behavior than wealthy people.

Further, I question her focus on capitalism. Capitalism is, in its exploitiveness, dastardly. However, it is misleading to cite the rise of industrial capitalism as the significant cause of women's oppression. The conditions that formed our present social structure existed well before the 19th century: one need only look to Aristotle, for example, who defined women as only "matter,"

Wachtel knows the territory.

Wachtel himself was born and raised in Richmond Hill, which may account for the compassion and tenderness that run through his story of the oppressive hold that an old neighborhood can exert over someone. It may also explain how Wachtel can situate Joe's torment in the routine of the workday or in the landmarks that help anchor Joe to his neighborhood—Mary's Bar, the hang-out where Joe Flushing Avenue expostulates in the evenings; Sammy's El, a steamy bar where stolen goods are fenced from a table in the corner; and Fitzsimmons Funeral Home, where Joe's anger finally explodes in a senseless brawl at the wake of an alcoholic tavern-owner called Sonny, whose real name, like that of so many other defeated individuals in this novel, is Joe.

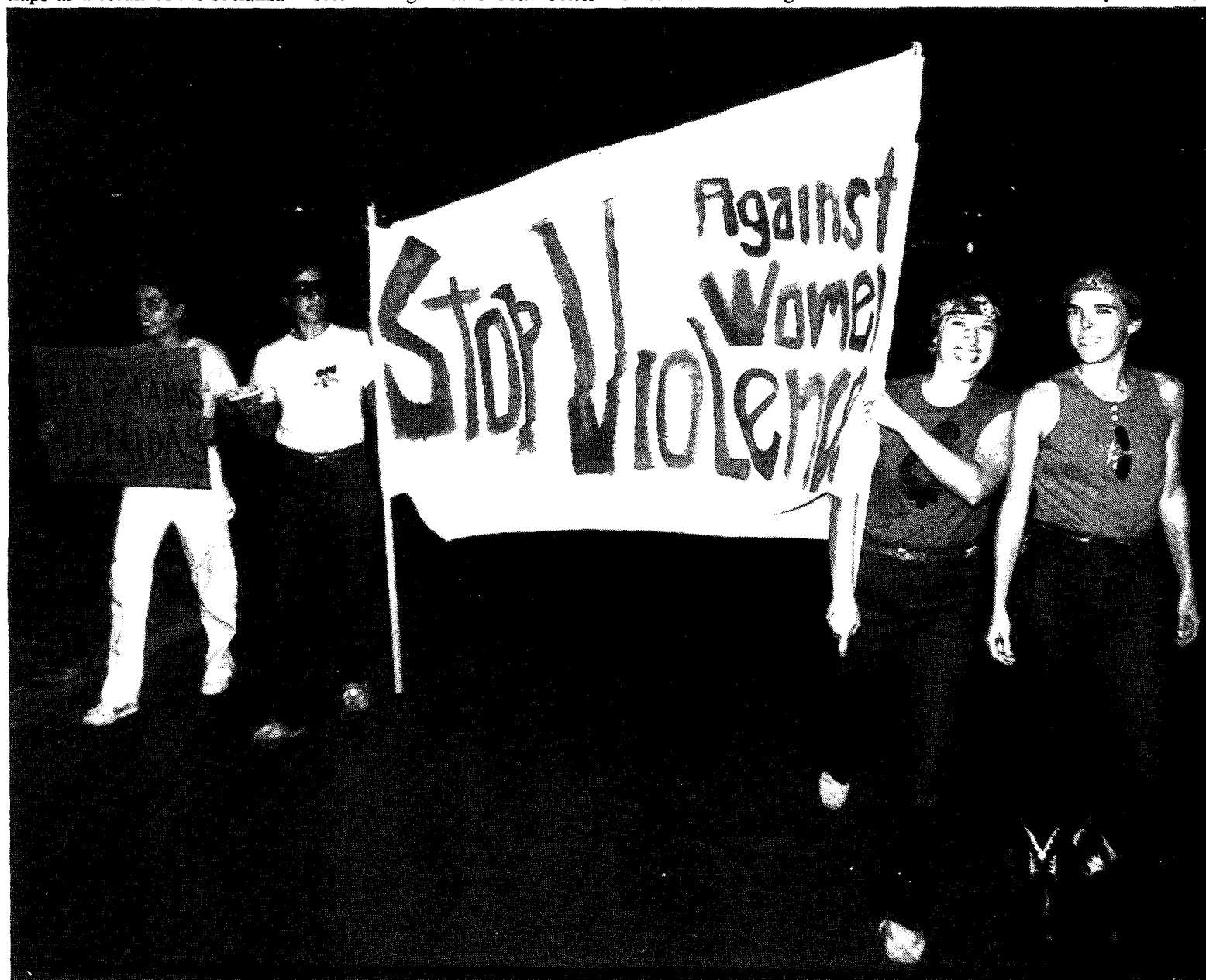
Chuck Wachtel has avoided a common flaw of first novels by not trying to say too much. Still, this modest story shows how a legacy of self-defeat can weigh down on the shoulders of the young, to the point where love and self-respect are among its casualties.

Still, the novel has flaws, especially Wachtel's difficulty in creating believable characters from outside the white lower middle class. It's not hard to see why Joe, embattled and distrustful as he is, feels threatened by Rosie's student friends from Manhattan, but these characters seem to have taken shape in molds we know all too well—intellectual feminist, young black urban planner, etc. They clearly lack the richness of Wachtel's creations from Richmond Hill.

Joe the Engineer finally summons the nerve to quit the Water Utility and leave with a friend for a job at a ski area in Colorado. Another escape? We don't know, but he does plan to return in time for the Water Utility engineer's assistant exam in the spring. "I'm gonna be someone who's not married and who does not read meters."

Wachtel leaves us with an odd combination of triumph and skepticism, a tentative but promising new beginning for Joe the Engineer. In a time of stubborn oversimplifications of working-class life in fiction, this tentativeness provides an honest, appropriate closing for this impressive, stunningly realistic, often hilarious novel. ■

David D'Arcy reviews fiction for WBAI-radio in New York.



Scott Van Orsdal

tion, an inability to permit women autonomy of motion or expression. Let a woman but think, dream, sleep, desire or breathe without his permission and she betrays the masculine ideal. Any attempt, witting or otherwise, to reduce him to the status of object, to deny his sovereignty, and he has recourse to his fists.

According to feminist activist Susan Schechter, the abuse of women is the logical if horrific extension of the unequal power relationship between men and women. Violence is a strategy of control, a way of organizing a relationship so that a man's feeling of superiority is ensured. A woman's role is to protect his tranquility. She is to be at once servant and enchantress. Through her passivity, she bestows peace and harmony. As Schechter points out, violence is often the

The abuse of women is the logical and horrific extension of the unequal power relationship between men and women. Violence is a strategy of control among men.

condensed into a less adverb-cluttered chronology.

Agenda for the future.

The second part—a carefully reasoned analysis of violence against women in the family and an agenda for the movement in the future—is more restrained and will be of greater interest to the general reader. Schechter begins with an examination of society's institutions that explicitly or implicitly support a husband's

infallibility in feminism as a panacea. This romantic myth is exorcized by Schechter who, in perhaps the most important part of her book, calls for a political movement to combat not just battering but women's oppression in general. Because violence results from women's social and economic oppression, shelters must conduct themselves not only as service organizations, but as movement organizations. They must retain a political ideology

while the male principle of "movement" was "better and more divine." However, this provocative, sensitively written book is sure to encourage dialog on choices and future directions for the women's movement. Most importantly, Schechter succeeds in offering a countervailing political ideology through which the radical spirit of the movement can be sustained. ■

Susan Osborn is books editor of the Vassar Quarterly.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT



MUSIC

Rank and File:
twangy punk.

Punk rebellion lives on

By Andy Schwartz

For anyone not thoroughly entrenched in the culture of pop music, it's easy to believe that little of real importance has occurred since the punk-rock rebellion of 1976-78. Superficially (forsaking black music, for the moment), the last five years look like this: a handful of original and challenging groups arose, slashed their particular statements across various record albums and concert stages, then became either rich and famous (the Clash), defunct (the Sex Pistols), or both (Blondie). In their wake, on both sides of the Atlantic, came a slew of imitators—their music largely devoid of so-

cio-political content and useful mostly to sharp-eyed promoters and fat-cat record executives as fresh "product" to be purveyed in drug-infested rock discos and over the airwaves of tightly-formatted FM rock stations.

To a degree, it's all true. There is a lot of third-rate "new wave" music around, and the commercialization of punk's sounds and styles has narrowed the available space for music of political meaning. But the phenomenon of punk-as-business broke the stranglehold of the major record companies and made modes of independent production viable for the first time in years, while punk-as-art attitudes demystified the pop musician and challenged the tenets of rock careerism.

Few recent albums combine individual artistry with punk's daring and iconoclasm better than *Sundown* (Slash) by Rank and File, of Austin, Texas, and *What Makes a Man Start Fires?* (SST) by the Minutemen, from San Pedro, Calif.

Rank and File began some five years ago as an informal "jam" band combining members of prominent Bay Area punk bands like the Dils and the Nuns. After the demise of these groups, a tentative Rank and File lineup took root in New York City in 1980, with singer/songwriter/guitarist Chip Kinman (of the Dils) and second guitarist Alejandro Escovedo (of the Nuns). Reuniting with brother Tony Kinman (another ex-Dil) on bass, songs and

vocals and picking up Texas native Slim Evans on drums, the group moved to Austin to absorb country music at its source and find an audience beyond the trendy East and West Coasts.

The fierce power chords and stiff drumming of punk metamorphosed into the twangy riffs and rolling rhythms of Johnny Cash and Waylon Jennings—the vocals sounded less like Johnny Rotten than the Everly Brothers. But the unsentimental populist politics of the Kinmans' songwriting and the underlying drive of the music set the band apart from both the Nashville mainstream and assorted country-rock variations. Lost-love numbers like "Lucky Day" and "Glad I'm Not in Love" are fine, but even more impressive are songs like "Coyote" (based on a news account of Mexican immigrants abandoned in the Southwestern desert by the "coyotes" who smuggled them across the border) and the an-

themic "Rank and File":

Shift to shift, in and out, I give and they take/I punch that clock, and punch it hard enough to break...

Rank and File originally signed with the independent Slash label of Los Angeles, but recently linked with Warner Bros. in a distribution deal. They've even taped a segment for TV's irredeemably plastic *Solid Gold*. It remains to be seen how their principles will hold up under the pressures of incipient stardom.

The Minutemen.

No such dangers haunt the Minutemen, if only because group members Dennis Boon (guitar, lead vocals), Mike Watt (bass, vocals) and George Hurley (drums) have thus far declined to give up their day jobs and turn professional—even after two albums, several EPs, and tours of the U.S. and Europe. (Boon, for example, is a repairman for a local Buick dealership.) The group records for SST Records, a label owned and operated by members of L.A.'s notorious punk band Black Flag. Meanwhile, the Minutemen release the works of even lesser-known punk bands on their own New Alliance label.

The Minutemen emerged from the suburban "hardcore" punk scene and still attract a mostly "hardcore" audience on their occasional tours. But Boon, Watt and Hurley don't conform to any of the genre's clichés, eschewing black leather and easy slogans. All three are instrumentalists of exceptional skill and dexterity, not just physical force, with a cohesion born of five years playing time together. Even a cursory listening to any of their numerous recordings will reveal lyrical and rhythmic complexities far beyond the content of most "hardcore" bands. In songs like "The Only Minority," the personal and the political meld in a firestorm of violent, hallucinatory imagery:

It's not black or white not brown or yellow it's green with might survives on fright it's what I see what I feel what I taste they own the land we work the land we fight their wars they think we're whores it's who they are it's what they are that's who I hate it's what I see what I feel what I taste

The same with "Plight":

His face is young hands are old the past is empty blind and cold all the sweat on his back grabs the dirt stains his shirt push all day rest at night do some hobbies drink to forget (a ton of sand at my feet each a speck, each speck all connecting in a mass, pressure changing its shape, its direction, its purpose as the sea tears it away from the land more is pushed back each different and separate all has changed nothing has changed when the momentum stops the machine will die for some reason we're not alone)

"For some reason we're not alone"—with these words the hope of community arises from the bitter wasteland of American capitalism. Suffice to say that *What Makes a Man Start Fires?* is one of the most important rock and roll albums of 1983, even if the year isn't half over, even if many of those theoretically in sympathy with this record's message may have trouble actually listening to it after a steady diet of FM (or even "new wave") rock pabulum. Like it or not, it's in grooves like these that the progressive history of America's pop music is being written.

Andy Schwartz was publisher and editor-in-chief of *New York Rocker*, a monthly magazine of pop music, from 1978-1982.

By Bruce Kaplan

McKinley Morganfield was one of thousands of black Mississippians who followed the Illinois Central rail line up to Chicago during and after the Second World War. And like the others, he was looking for a better life, higher pay and more options than in the poor and overworked farm counties of home. Factory work would certainly have been an improvement for Morganfield—but he had another idea: he was a musician, and he had already made some recordings for Alan Lomax, a traveling folklorist from the Library of Congress. Why couldn't he be a famous musician and make records to be heard on the radios and jukeboxes of the whole world?

There were plenty of good answers to that question. Perhaps the best was that no one had ever become very famous playing the kind of raw Mississippi blues that Muddy knew (McKinley's childhood nickname had been Muddy, and he had decided to adopt the name Muddy Waters for his musical career). The only blues musicians who had gained any kind of success were a Chicago-based group including Tom Dorsey, Tampa Red and Bill Broon-



Photographer unknown

Muddy

who recorded and performed for the "race" market, playing in a style far more uptown and jazz influenced than Muddy. Another group of blues singers—Leadbelly, Sonny Terry and Josh White—had become hooked up with leftist circles in the East. But the blues are that Muddy didn't know about this second group, and he had little in common with the first. The prospects for a country blues player coming to Chicago in

the '40s were not great.

But Muddy Waters also had some things in his favor. First, new economic conditions meant there were more black people with a little extra money to spend on entertainment. Second, the end of war time shellac rationing meant it was possible for music entrepreneurs to produce records for this and other markets that the major labels, with their pop orientation, were ignoring. Finally—and most important—Muddy Waters was an intense and driven man, who could sing and play guitar with a hypnotic, almost demonic power that had been missing in blues recordings for the previous 20 years. Between 1948 and about 1955, Muddy—with a variety of accompanists, many to become famous in their own right, such as Little Walter and Otis Spann—made a series of recordings featuring his stinging guitar and electrifying vocals, which are regarded by virtually all blues, jazz and rock critics as classics for their strength, power and simplicity. For the next three decades he performed this music all over the world, introducing two generations of youth to the greatness of American blues.

On April 30, just hours after

Chicago inaugurated its first black mayor, Muddy Waters died in his sleep. He had been the first artist to get a solid string of hits in the idiom that came to be known as Chicago blues, and he inspired many others. He reached his height of fame in the black communities in the '50s, and as his popularity there began to wane, young white musicians in Europe and the U.S. began to latch on to his music. Many of them admired Muddy's deep intensity and feeling, which they found lacking in the pop music they were familiar with; the Rolling Stones in particular freely acknowledged Muddy's influence and toured with him and honored him on many occasions. Muddy and the urban blues he helped forge contribute a great deal to whatever elements of honesty and realism exist in today's rock and pop music. Even though he never achieved the wealth or massive popularity of some of the artists he influenced, it's safe to say that he and his music will be remembered and played when most of theirs has been long forgotten.

Bruce Kaplan owns *Flying Fish records*, a Chicago folk and blues label.

FILM

Memories of oil development

By Robert Schaeffer

Rapid industrial development has visited Scottish communities as a result of North Sea oil discoveries. *Local Hero*, a deft and disarming comedy, explores the impact of the oil boom on a small, pristine fishing village on Scotland's mountainous northwest coast.

A Houston-based oil company plans to build a tanker terminal and oil refinery to receive North Sea oil. Texas oil mogul Burt Lancaster sends Mac MacIntyre, a junior executive from his company's acquisitions department, to make the inhabitants of Ferness an offer they can't refuse.

Instead of setting loose the bulldozers and Terex Titans, filmmaker Bill Forsyth (he wrote the screenplay for *Gregory's Girl*) opts for an indirect approach to impending development. When MacIntyre arrives in Scotland, he is shown a large scale model of the village, the bay, and the surrounding environs. A hydrologist then lifts up a chunk of the coastline, which includes the village, and replaces it—presto chango—with an oil refinery that fits into the model like a piece of a jig-saw puzzle.

It is impossible to view the rest of the film, to meet the inhabitants and explore the village,



Burt Lancaster as a Texas oil mogul.

without imagining the irrevocable change development would bring. With this firmly established in the mind of the viewers, the director can then explore the customs and folkways of a close-knit traditional rural community, marvel at the beauty of the place and play with the interaction between a city-slicker with a briefcase full of money and the local citizenry who want him to dig deep into it.

The residents of Ferness are not rubes. They fully understand their predicament. They see oil development as an irresistible force, which they want to accept with as much dignity as possible. Knox Oil is not trying to swindle them out of their birthright and the natives are not trading their Manhattan for trinkets. By portraying oil executives and villagers as consenting adults rather than as antagonists, Forsyth can direct his attention to other issues and show how both groups are changed by the encounter.

One issue that intrigues Forsyth is the dual character of the inhabitants. On the one hand they are an isolated, tradition-bound people. The town has only one link with the outside world, a phone box that requires coin collections at the tavern to operate.

But as distant as they may be from the modern lifestyle of an urban center like Houston, the villagers are also extremely up-to-date. While they sit around mending fishing nets, the villagers discuss the various stock options and investment opportunities of various money market funds; a young couple keeps up with the latest punk fashions; and a young dirt-biker ruts the cobblestone streets with his new Yamaha. The villagers are at once parochial and worldly, a characteristic common to many Third World and developing countries, where traditional values and contemporary lifestyles inhabit the same social space. The subtle and not-to-subtle contrasts provided by these two ways of being are viewed with compassionate irony by Forsyth.

By discarding cardboard vil-

Villagers sit mending nets and discuss various money market funds.

lains and fictitious antagonisms, Forsyth allows the actors to explore their characters and wear their roles comfortably. The result is natural and likable performances by Burt Lancaster, Peter Riegert and all the film's principals. *Local Hero* is an intelligent and purposefully modest environmental film.

Robert Schaeffer is managing editor of *Not Man Apart*, the *Friends of the Earth* magazine.

Dairy Queens

If there ever was any doubt that rural women are a potent political force, *Dairy Queens* dispels it. In less than one year (1978), Alice Tripp moved from a solitary act of civil disobedience against a powerline across her farm to garnering one million votes for governor of Minnesota—half of the incumbent's tally. Patty Kakac, a neighbor who witnessed Tripp's arrest on TV, was moved to sing protest songs, to be arrested and then to organize others. Another woman, Anne Kanten, spoke out in her church, joined the American Agriculture Movement Tractorcade to Washington, D.C., and after countless hours of speaking and organizing, won a surprise appointment as Minnesota assistant agriculture commissioner in January.

Dairy Queens is a half-hour color video that shows these three women and the issues that inspired their activism. Weaving intimate interviews with documentary footage, *Dairy Queens* warmly advises—in Alice Tripp's words—that "protesting pays off." It is also an excellent overview of the farm depression. John deGraaf, Ellen Anthony, Karen Lehman and Jim Mulligan co-produced it for PBS, which will broadcast the show nationally in July. **KM**

the hidden costs—destruction of the countryside and devastation of public health—associated with our nation's "quest for energy independence." The economic planners of the Reagan administration are setting their sights on the Colorado Plateau, where the four corners of Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico join, as an environmental sacrifice for the good of the country.

What our nation's leaders are calling for is energy: coal for huge power plants to keep air conditioners running in Southern California; oil shale to keep us bustling along the freeways; and uranium to fuel power plants and build nuclear weapons. What these same leaders are demanding in exchange is people's livelihoods and lives: water is mined from the water tables to prime coal slurries; strip mining is condoned even though the land will never be revived; uranium tailings are left behind, causing lung cancer and birth defects.

The National Academy of Sciences, noting the devastation wrought by unchecked energy extraction, gave the film its name when it considered making the Southwest a "national sacrifice area." But many people of the region are unwilling to sacrifice their homes in this cause. *Four Corners* will tour the Southwest this month and be broadcast on PBS in the fall.

JK

Earth Image Films, P.O. Box C-151, La Honda, Calif. 94020,

America, From Hitler to MX
Joan Harvey's (director of *We Are the Guinea Pigs*) new documentary examines the economic and military ties that bind American foreign policy, using

a string of Pentagon statistics and corporate investment records. Among the many revelations in the film is that the same strategic and economic forces responsible for the current U.S. weapons buildup also played a shockingly active role in sup-

enormous funds for the war efforts on both sides in World War II. In 1936, munitions hearings were conducted by the U.S. Senate to look into alleged involvement with the Nazis by Lockheed, DuPont and Electric Boat Company. We learn from

FILM CLIPS

port of Hitler and the Nazi movement.

To accomplish its complicated goals, the film attempts to put many pieces of string through the eye of one needle. The effects of monopoly capitalism on labor movements, on racial minorities, on the ecological underpinnings of the planet, on jobs, on health and on oil prices are all chronicled. The power of Harvey's message has much to do with credible witnesses and her minimalist style of filmmaking, but fault can be made of her attempt to speak to too many issues at one sitting.

French and American banks, including the Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan, provided

the film that Pratt-Whitney was building parts for Hitler at the same time it was building P-38s for the U.S. Air Force.

The film also underscores the connections between nuclear armaments and health issues. Dr. Richard Piccioni notes, "The amount of radioactive material you produce when you make a nuclear warhead is essentially the same amount that is released when the warhead goes off. In other words, when you build a nuclear arsenal you are creating at the surface of the planet, the equivalent amount of radioactivity that would be released in the war."

America, From Hitler to MX has done its homework and

Director Joan Harvey conducting an interview.



makes a fine presentation that reaches both the head and the heart. It concentrates less on the victims of militarism and criminal financial maneuvers and more on the modern corporate barons who conceive and profit from such things. Joan Harvey's film is not a prescription or a cure for the world's threatened condition, but a passionate diagnosis. **SDG**

Gods of Metal

In a sober, straightforward half-hour, this documentary on the religious movement to oppose nuclear weapons raises the basic issues for those concerned with the ethics of civil disobedience. After asserting the horror of nuclear warfare and the connection between dollars given to weapons and taken from social welfare, it shows what actions some people have taken. Several priests withhold part of their income tax. An ex-Rockwell International employee spends his days protesting at the plant site; "I just hope I have enough time left to make up for the wrong I have done," he says. Ohio housewife Molly Rush explains why she broke into a General Electric plant to beat swords—actually Mark IV missiles—into plowshares. A city council votes for a nuclear freeze resolution. And people demonstrate for peace—hundreds in Sitka, Alaska; thousands in Chicago; maybe a million in New York, on last June 12. No surprises here, but the arguments are clearly made. This is an efficient discussion starter.

PA
Icarus Films, 200 Park Ave. Room 1319, New York, NY 10003

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, Stephen DeGaange, John Kelley, Ken Meter

Poverty

Continued from page 12

tory that employed him was sold to another firm and he didn't have enough seniority to be retained. In some ways Bill has been fortunate—families in his Catholic parish chipped in to pay his utility bills and his two children can still attend the parish school. But his \$284 monthly welfare grant and his \$220 in food stamps are not enough to allow him to pay his \$280 monthly rent and adequately feed his family of four. That's why Bill and others are forced to visit the pantry three times a month.

The questionnaires pantry visitors fill out reveal a tragic discrepancy between welfare benefits and the needs of poor people—an impression confirmed by official Department of Agriculture data. Food stamps for families with income are supposed to supply only 70 percent of the costs of a nutritionally adequate diet, as determined by the government's "Thrifty Food Plan." That diet is the cheapest ever devised by a federal agency, and the Agriculture Department's most recent national survey shows that five of every six families whose diet conforms to the plan fails to obtain the Recommended Daily Allowance of basic nutrients.

The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, which reported that survey, also discloses a change in food stamp regulations that compounds the problem of getting enough to eat. In an across-the-board cut that lowers benefits by \$150 to \$200 million per year, Congress in 1982 slashed food stamp benefit levels to 1 percent below the cost of the Thrifty Food Plan. It is difficult to imagine where those legislators found the fat in a program whose benefits average only 47 cents a meal per recipient.

Recalling that the value of a food basket at her pantry has jumped from \$7 to \$11 in five years, Sister Maria opposes at-

tempts to decrease food stamp benefits: "It's unfair to cut back on benefits to the poor when there is so much unemployment, when there are so many homeless."

Housing crunch.

Homelessness is a constant menace to single welfare households, whose monthly incomes typically fall below the \$349 average for all food stamp households. Describing a regular visitor to her pantry—a 55-year-old woman with a chronic heart ailment who is at present entitled to only a monthly standard grant of \$144 from the Illinois Department of Public Aid General Assistance program—Sister Maria says that not even the woman's \$70 food stamp allotment enables her to keep up the \$165 monthly rent on her small efficiency apartment. And because the woman cannot make up the deficit by hawking odd jobs on the street, her main hope is to be returned to a federal program for the disabled, from which she was terminated.

The only hope for other families forced to choose between shelter and food is to seek refuge in extended family arrangements. A household Sister Maria visited recently was already bursting at the seams. A couple and a child, struggling to get enough to eat, sought relief from unaffordable rents by moving into the apartment occupied by the husband's parents. Another brother and his family had also just moved there. The parents' three-bedroom apartment now housed six adults and three children.

But strained welfare budgets don't always bring families together. Ask Dan White, a middle-aged, unemployed head of a household with three children on Chicago's south side. When he lost his job several months ago, his wife and her children by a previous marriage left him and his own children. Until last December, White received \$225 a month in welfare and some food stamps. Things went from bad to worse when his benefits were suddenly reduced to \$153 and the family's food stamps suspended.

White's problems began when a public

aid caseworker determined that his 18-year-old son was not complying with job search and registration rules that Illinois imposes on all "able-bodied" members of General Assistance households. At first White believed his entire family was being unfairly penalized. But the Illinois Department of Public Aid food stamp manual stipulates that "failure of any non-exempt household member to comply with work registration, job search or the GA Jobs Program requirements without good cause, will result in the entire household being ineligible for program participation." Food stamp sanctions for workfare violations are another legacy of 1981 changes in food stamp regulations.

Desperation led White to Lawndale Legal Services, a neighborhood office where the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago provides free legal aid to many welfare recipients and poor people. Dorothea Spencer, an attorney's assistant who helped White, could find only one way out of the family's crisis—to break up the household by sending White's son to live with an uncle. After a 10-day appeal and the son's departure, the threat of a two-month sanction was lifted.

White was not alone in his skirmish with the new food stamp regulations. Others, like 50-year-old Robert Smith and his family of 11, have lost their benefits for months for the same reasons. They illustrate the point made by Tom Johnson, attorney and director at the legal aid foundation: workfare requirements have had a harsh impact on recipients. The 1981 federal law allowing Illinois and other states to tie food stamps to workfare affects 91 percent of the General Assistance caseload in Illinois. Piles of workfare-related legal complaints are currently stacked up on Spencer's desk.

Rampant discontent.

Not surprisingly, discontent is rampant among the poor as they are driven to seek invisible income by scavenging, begging or selling their food stamps. This discontent has led to a growing number of conflicts between recipients and the welfare agencies. At the Lawndale center, 70 percent of the complaints concern food stamps, and Spencer files for approximately 10 formal hearings a month. According to her, administration efforts at federal deregulation take an ironic turn: "Food stamp regulations change so fast, and are so confusing, that caseworkers make mistakes. These create difficulties for recipients that are sometimes settled only by expensive formal hearings."

Program administrators also feel the budget squeeze in cramped caseload schedules and mounting paperwork. An administrator at the Department of Agriculture's Midwest office candidly admits that it's hard to keep pace with Washington. He also wonders how a dwindling staff can cope with proliferating regulations and growing numbers of poor people.

Perhaps that concern is addressed by one of the subtler modifications recently made in the food stamp program. In order to make the program less accessible to some low-income recipients, the ad-

ministration has ended food stamp "out-reach" efforts in most parts of the country and has dropped minimum federal requirements on the location and hours of operation of food stamp offices. Here again, administration policy tends to widen the gap between the needs of the poor and what the government is willing to provide.

Hunger on the rise.

Agencies like the privately funded Chicago Hunger Hotline try to bridge that gap. Director Paul Stewart reports that his six staff and eight volunteers answered 23 percent more calls in 1982 than in the preceding year. They spend most of their time helping poor people with marginal employment or none at all. Their problems making ends meet fit a familiar pattern. According to Stewart, "Many of those people must find alternative living arrangements, moving in with friends. Even when receiving full food stamp benefits, most do not have the extra 30 percent of their net income for food."

The working poor have been hit especially hard by the new "anti-work" provisions. For example, a single working mother is now losing a war of attrition for survival, as work expenses like child care, transportation, union dues, taxes and insurance eat away income that the government expects her to use for food. Stewart adds that additional food stamp cuts proposed in Reagan's fiscal 1983 budget will further corrode the tenuous survival of the working poor. "None of the cuts are fair," he says. "Why cut programs at a time when so many people need aid? Maybe it's a set-up situation—intended to encourage fraud by reducing benefits, and then charging that the program is overburdened by abuse."

A Congressional Budget Office report released on April 12 reinforces such skepticism about the administration's proposed reductions in social programs like food stamps. Budget analysts predict that the Reagan budget proposal to slash another \$1.1 billion from food stamps in 1984 would really deprive two million of the nation's poorest households of \$190 million in benefits, and take away \$874 million overall. Instead of eliminating error and corruption, as Reagan claims, the new budget cuts would reduce benefits for nearly two-thirds of the 7.9 million households that now depend on food stamps.

While releasing that report to the House subcommittee overseeing federal nutrition programs that he chairs, Rep. Leon Panetta (D-Calif.) paused to draw some stark consequences: "What this analysis shows in clear and compelling terms is that the administration's proposals will have a severe and damaging effect on millions of the most needy families in this country, and will aggravate the already growing problem of hunger."

The future is indeed bleak for more than 30 million poor Americans unless Congress reverses the two-year Reagan assault on federal programs for the nation's poor.

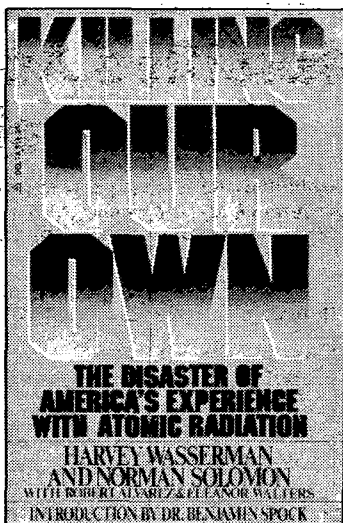
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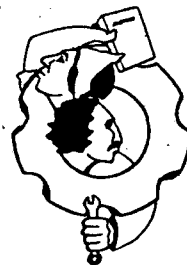
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NEW YORK, N.Y.

May 22

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CHICAGO, ILL.

June 2

Physicians for Social Responsibility Chicago Chapter meeting. Rush Medical Center, 1750 W. Harrison, Room 1245-Jelke. Thursday, June 2, 6:30 p.m. General discussion. Everyone welcome. For further information—call 726-8087.

Nisei

Continued from page 24
Cloy's office.

It took him several weeks to get across the country. He had little money, and hitchhiked much of the way, stopping off at several of the camps enroute. Once he got to the Pentagon, he was surprised to find several old acquaintances from Japanese religious missions working there, in intelligence operations. It was these old colleagues who smoothed his way into McCloy's office.

McCloy also agreed with his contention that the Japanese-Americans should be released. The roadblock to releasing the internees, McCloy said, was public opinion. He showed Nicholson a stack of letters, mostly from the West Coast, insisting that no Japanese-Americans should be allowed to return to their homes. "We get very few letters on the other side of the issue," he said. McCloy pointed to his desk, and added, "If you can fill this other basket on my desk with letters saying, 'We want our Japanese friends back again,' we'll open the camps as soon as we're sure that public opinion is not 100 percent against it."

Nicholson left McCloy's office

and headed straight to the Western Union office to send telegrams to the Friends of the American Way and contacts at several camps, telling them to start writing letters. Then he caught the train to Philadelphia, where he passed the word on to the the American Friends Service Committee headquarters and the National Council of Churches. On his way back west he stopped at several more camps to help the internees organize letter-writing campaigns through friends back home.

Nicholson says that within four months more than 150,000 letters were sent to Washington, mainly from the West Coast. Even so, the officials hesitated. There was an election coming on and anti-Japanese hostility was still prevalent. Some Japanese were eventually allowed to leave the camps if they could find work away from their homes on the West Coast, but circumstances forced most to remain.

In the summer of '44, McCloy wrote to the Friends of the American Way indicating that he was willing to test public reaction by releasing a single youth to leave the camps and stay on the West Coast by enrolling at Pasadena Junior College. A young woman named Esther Takei was chosen—she was said to be bright and personable and her brother had been killed fighting with the famed 442nd Battalion

of Nisei volunteers. A Quaker family took her in and she started college in September 1944.

For the first month or so, there was a lot of harassment: threatening phone calls and cars parading past the house. But there were also many messages of encouragement, and within weeks the harassment faded away. Takei proved very popular with other students and there were no incidents. By December 1944, plans were underway to open the camps, and by early 1945 many Japanese were able to return to their home areas. Nicholson still believes that it was the deluge of letters and Esther Takei's success that pushed the government into recognizing the loyalty of the Japanese-Americans and letting them out of the camps.

Post-war efforts.

Once the war ended, Herbert Nicholson turned his energies to

organizing relief efforts for the defeated enemy nation. Learning of a need for milk there, and knowing from experience that goats were more suited to the Japanese setting than cattle, he joined forces with a project begun by the Church of the Brethren, called Heifers for Relief (now Heifer Project International), that sent milk livestock to war-devastated areas. Nicholson was responsible for the sending of well over 5,000 milk goats to Japan, and accompanied three boatloads of them across the Pacific.

In 1951, he, his wife and youngest son returned to the mission field in Japan, where they stayed until his health began to falter in 1961.

In August 1981, just out of the hospital after a third bout with cancer, he testified in Los Angeles before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and In-

IN THESE TIMES MAY 18-24, 1983 23

ternments of Civilians. He called on the government to establish a memorial fund for those who died in the concentration camps. As he left the room, the capacity crowd burst into loud applause.

That was not the first time he had spoken out for redress. In April 1973, when a historic marker was dedicated at the site of the Manzanar camp, 200 miles out in the desert east of Los Angeles, Nicholson was invited by the Nisei master of ceremonies to make the opening remarks. His main plea, he recalls, was to ask the Nisei on behalf of his countrymen, "Will you please forgive us as we pledge wholeheartedly to join you in the determination that such a thing shall never happen again in our beloved country?"

Chuck Fager is a staff writer for City Paper in Washington, D.C., and national correspondent for San Francisco Bay Guardian.

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



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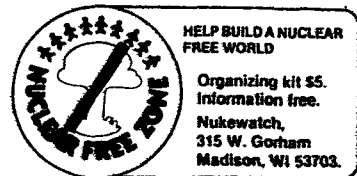
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The interment of Japanese-Americans after Pearl Harbor provoked protests from a small but dedicated group of citizens.

Days of Infamy

Herbert V. Nicholson (right) fought against the relocation camps.



By Chuck Fager



THE UGLY HISTORY OF locking up tens of thousands of loyal Japanese-Americans in domestic concentration camps during World War II has recently been documented in a long and often eloquent report, *Personal Justice Denied*, issued earlier this year by the federal Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

The Commission will be heard from again when it issues a final report, including recommendations for federal compensation of the surviving victims and their families. In its focus on the process of policymaking during the course of the internment, however, the report leaves out an important part of the story: the fact that some white Americans did protest the evacuation.

This all-but-forgotten crusade was led by one tireless man—Herbert V. Nicholson, a lanky, bespectacled Californian.

Nicholson, then in his 50s, had been a Quaker missionary in Japan for 25 years, from 1915 until the approach of war interrupted his evangelistic work. He settled in Pasadena in 1940 and worked as interim pastor at a Japanese Methodist Church in west Los Angeles. The day after Pearl Harbor, his flock began to scatter under the spur of government round-ups.

Stunned by the forced evacuation, he immediately began working against it. For the next 18 months, he became a combination traveling social worker and circuit riding preacher to the internees, visiting the isolated camps in California, Arizona and Texas. He carried parcels of their belongings and took messages to and from separated family members.

He also tried to organize protests against the internment. He started the day after Pearl Harbor, visiting the Los Angeles FBI office and the regional direc-

tor of naval intelligence, indignantly insisting that the hysterical newspaper stories about alleged Japanese-American sabotage in Hawaii were false and should be corrected. The naval intelligence director agreed that the reports were erroneous, but said there was nothing he could do. Later that day, Nicholson took his plea to a meeting of a local church federation, only to be denounced and tossed out of the session.

Friends of the American Way.

Finally he and a handful of others, mostly Quakers, formed Friends of the American Way, which did relief work and wrote letters objecting to the treatment of the Japanese-Americans.

They didn't make much headway, however, until February of 1944 when Dillon Myer, the head of the War Relocation Authority, met with Nicholson and a delegation from the American Friends Service Committee at the Quaker meetinghouse in Pasadena. By that time, many young Japanese-Americans had been proving their loyalty in battle as volunteers and the Selective Service System had begun drafting them out of camps for military service. Nicholson confronted Myer with the cruel hypocrisy of calling these men out to defend a system that held their relatives captive.

As Nicholson remembers the conversation, Myer agreed with his criticism but said he couldn't do anything about it. The decision to release the Japanese-Americans would have to come through proper channels—namely from Assistant War Secretary John McCloy, who was in charge of interned citizens.

Nicholson persisted: If Myer couldn't persuade the Army, he asked, "who could do it?"

Myer answered, "You can."

"All right," Nicholson declared. "I'm

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